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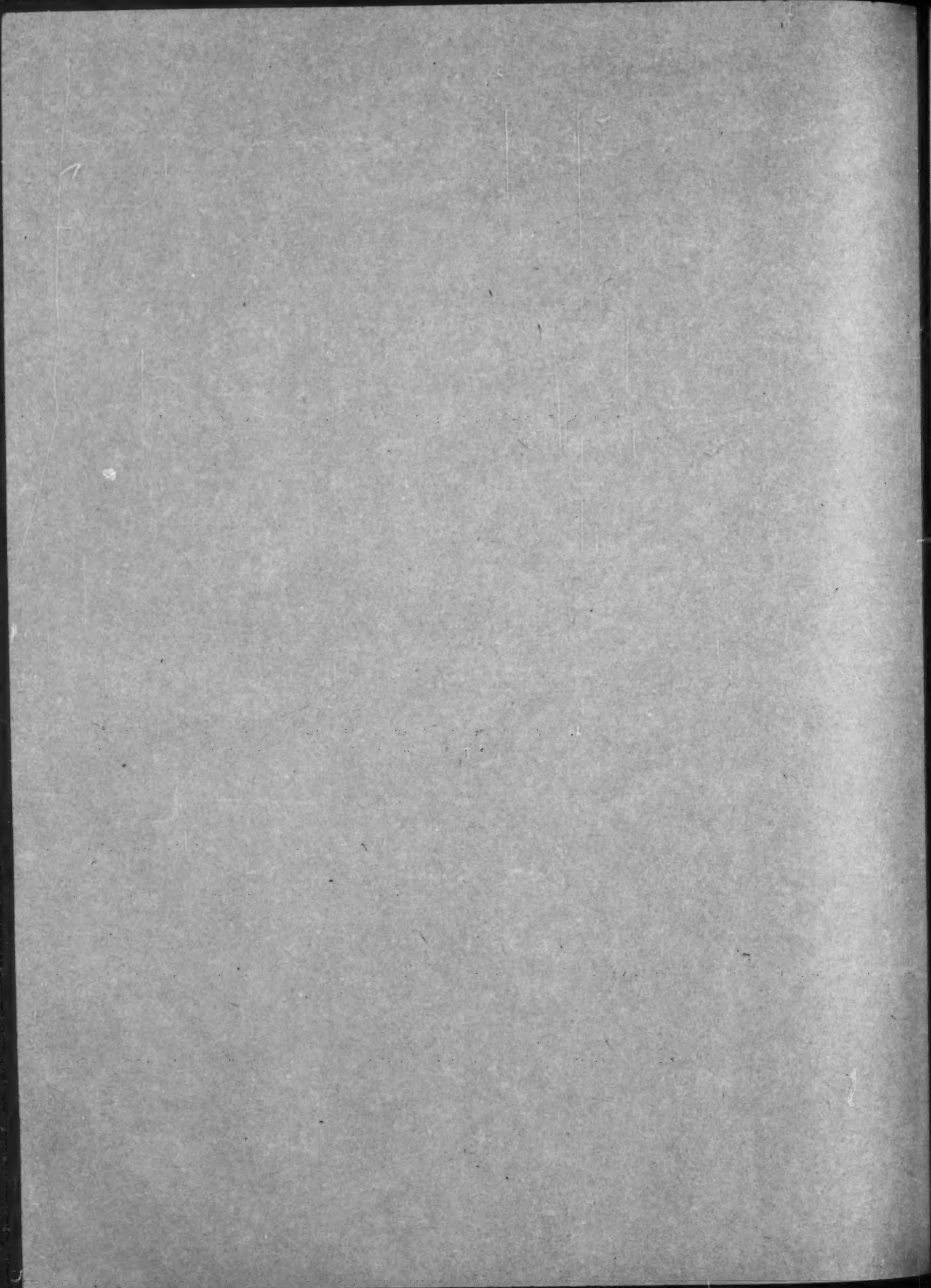
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A Re-interpretation of an Amarna Letter from Byblos (EA 22)

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We are now in a much better position than were our predecessors to interpret the cuneiform tablets of the Late Bronze Age in Palestine.^a From the Nuzu and Boğazköy texts we have a much clearer idea of contemporary peripheral Accadian as written by non-Accadian peoples. Even more important, Ugaritic has immeasurably advanced our knowledge of contemporary Canaanite, enabling us to clarify many heretofore obscure passages.^b

- a Cf. BASOR (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research) 86 28-31; 87 32-38; 89 7-17; 92 28-30; 94 12-27; Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 23 (1937) 190-203; JNES (Journal of Near Eastern Studies) 6 (1947) 123-124; 8 (1949) 124-125.

Note also the following abbreviations: CBQ=Catholic Biblical Quarterly; EA=Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (1915); G-K-C=Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley, Hebrew Grammar; JBL Journal of Biblical Literature; RES=Revue des Études Sémitiques; UH=Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook (1947).

- b Though it is objected by some scholars that Ugaritic is a different language from Canaanite and hence should not be used comparatively until the two have been worked out independently, the authors believe that Ugaritic and the Canaanite of Byblos are only dialectal variants of one Northwest-Semitic speech. Though there is ample evidence that the Canaanite of Byblos was more closely related to the Canaanite of other Phoenician and Palestinian towns than it was to Ugaritic, it is already clear that there was so much dialectal variation between different local forms of South Canaanite that we are not justified in treating Ugaritic as a distinct language. Proto-Hebrew, the parent of Biblical Hebrew, is different from both, though more akin to South Canaanite than to Ugaritic. The Ugaritic epics originated in Phoenicia proper, as shown by their place names, and it is probably not accidental that the deities mentioned in the epics are more characteristically South Canaanite than those listed in the ritual texts from Ugarit. The language of the epics is probably, therefore, even more closely related to Byblian Canaanite of the early fourteenth century B.C. than would be true of the ordinary speech of Ugarit. In the writer's opinion, the correct approach is thus through the linguistic methods familiar to us from modern dialect geography (presented in an extreme form by the exponents of neolinguistics), which supplement the neogrammatical approach and correct its one-sided isolationism (which worked very well with the major divisions of the widely separated Indo-European family, but has worked badly in the case of Romance philology, where we must deal with a great many neighboring dialects; cf. Albright, CBQ 7 14-18). For the writer's point of view in more detail see BASOR 89 8,n.5 (in reply to Goetze, Language, 17 127ff.) and JAOS 67 155ff. (for the close relation between Byblian and

The study of EA 82 which follows is an illustration of this fact. One will note by comparing, for example, Knudtzon's translation with that of the writers, that in many places there is complete divergence, a fact the more striking in that the divergence never rests on different readings.^c The reason, in short, is that Knudtzon failed, quite understandably, to see the underlying Canaanite idiom, which once detected solves almost every problem of a hitherto enigmatic letter.

Meriting special note is the syntactical peculiarity in the use of the negatives in lines 10 and 16, heretofore quite baffling to interpreters of the letter. The negative is used pleonastically, in a typically Canaanite parataxis of clauses, and is best translated by "as soon as", "scarcely", or the like. This same usage is found occasionally in Biblical Hebrew, though it has been neglected by Hebrew syntacticians.^d Thus II Ki. 20 4: *wayhî yèša'yāhû lô' yāšā' hā'îr hattîkônāh ūdēbar Yhwh hāyah 'ēlāw*, "And it came to pass as soon as Isaiah had gone out of the middle city that the word of Yahweh came to him." And Is. 40 24: *'ap bal niṭṭā'û 'ap bal zōrā'û 'ap bal šōrēs ba'areš giz'am wēgam nāšāp bāhem wayyiqāšū ūsē'ārāh kaqqās tissā'em*, "Scarcely have they been planted, scarcely have they been sown, scarcely has their stock struck root in the earth, than He blows upon them and they wither, and a whirlwind sweeps them away like stubble." Cf. also Zeph. 2 2. —To be noted is that *bl* is the regular negative in Ugaritic and Phoenician. —Another good parallel, this time in the archaizing "hymnal-

Ugaritic even in the tenth century B.C.). The standpoint of dialect geography has been very effectively presented by Zellig S. Harris in his *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (1939); cf. the review in *JAOIS* 60 414-422. In other words, research on each dialect must take constant stock of pertinent phenomena in all the other dialects, without reading interpretations valid for one dialect into another unless these interpretations fit the facts of the case in question. There is nothing wrong with comparative method when it is properly employed and does not violate the canons of sound^{scientific} and logical method. In other words, comparative method as we apply it to adjacent Northwest-Semitic dialects in the present essay cannot be used for the interpretation of — say — Elamite by drawing on heterogeneous languages of ancient Western Asia such as Sumerian, Hurrian, Cossaeon, and Urartian. On the other hand it can be used — if employed critically — in the comparative study of new or rare Sumerian or Accadian dialects by reference to other better known Sumerian or Accadian dialects.

The autograph may be found in Scheil, *Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, vol. 6 298 ff. We follow throughout Knudtzon's revised text.

However, already noted by Gesenius-Buhl; cf. *bal* 99 b (17th ed.)

epic dialect," is found in the Ašushaya Epic:^e *išātu ul tamhat áteli (a-ételi) / itarrū (a)dašni*, "Scarcely has the kindled fire flamed up, They are reduced to ashes."

Text and Translation^f

<p>a-na ^ma-m[a-a]n-ap-pa¹ a-bi-ia kí -bí -ma um-ma ^mri-ib-addi māru-ka-ma a-na šēpē a-bi-ia am-kū-ut 5 aḳ-ta-bi ù aš-ta-ni a-na ka-ta(m)² ú-ul ti-li-ú-na³ lā-ḳa-ia⁴ iš-tu ka-at ^mabdi-a-šī-ir-ta ka-li LÚ pl^{GAZ}pl it-ti-šu 10 ù LÚ^{ha} za-nu-tu⁵ ú-ul ti-eš-mu-na⁶ mi-im-ma ù šap-ru a-na ša-i-šu u ki-na-na dan⁸ ù ta-aš-ta-na a-wa-ta(m) a-na ia-šī 15 uš-šī-ra-mi a-wi-la-ka it-ti-ia a-na ēkalli ù la-a¹⁰ ka-šī-id i-re-šu ù uš-šī-ir-ti-šu¹² ḳa-du šābi¹⁴ til-la-ti¹⁵ a-na ka-ta(m) a-di a-šī šābi pi-tá-ti¹⁶ 20 a-na na-ša-ar napišti-ka ù aḳ-bi a-na ka-ta(m) la-a i-li-ú uš-ša-ar-^{<šu>}¹⁷ ú-ul yi-eš-ma ^mabdi-a-šī-i[r-ta] ù ma-an-nu il-ti-ka-ni 25 e[š]-tu ḳa-ti-šu ù ta-a[ḳ-bi] a-na ia-šī ú-ul ta-pa-la-[aḳ]</p>	<p>To Amarappa, my father, speak: Thus Rib-Addi, thy son: I fall down at the feet of my father. I have repeatedly said to thee: "Art thou not able to rescue me from the hand of 'Abdi-Ashirta? All of the Khapiru are on his side; and as for the governors, as soon as they hear anything, they communicate (it) to him,⁷ and therefore he is powerful." And thou hast repeatedly commanded me "Send thy man to me⁹ at the palace, and as soon as the request¹¹ is granted,¹³ I will send him along with auxiliary forces to thee— until the time when the archers come forth— in order to protect thy life." But I have said to thee: "I am not able to send him. Let¹⁸ not 'Abdi-Ashirta hear (of it), for then¹⁹ who will rescue me from his hand?" And thou sayest to me: "Do not fear!"</p>
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^e Zimmern, VS X 214 obv. III 9 ff. 13 ff. Prof. Goetze has called our attention to von Soden's reading *a-li-li* rather than *a-te-li* (cf. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* NF 7 165 note 4), but since the middle sign occurs twice and *alili* is very obscure at best, we follow Zimmern.

^f Notes to the text and translation follow in the form of a commentary.

- ù ta-aš-ta-ni a-na-ta(m) a-na ia-ši And thou tellest me again and again:
 uš-ši-ir-mi ^{GIS}eleppa a-na "Send a ship to
 mā-t ia-ri-mu-ta²⁰ ù ú-ša-ka²¹ the land of Iarimuta that I may send thee
 30 kaspī lu-bu-ši eš-tu ša-šu nu money (and) clothing from them."²²
 a-nu-ma awilūtu ša na-ad-na-ta Behold, the men whom thou hast given
 a-na ia-ši en-na-ab-tu gab-bu to me have fled, all of them.
 ha-ba-li-ia muhhi-ka šum-ma Thou art accountable for injury to me if
 ta-[kū]-u-ul a-na ia-ši a-nu-[m]a thou art negligent in my regard. See,
 35 eš-ti-mi ú-ul i-nu-ma²³ I did obey Is it not (a fact) that
 uš-ši-ir-ti awīli-ia a-na ēkalli I sent my man to the palace,
 u ik-bi a-na awīli ù iz-zi-iz and he ('Abdi-Ashirta) commanded a man and he ^{drew}
 pa-tar siparri muhhi-ia²⁴ ù am-ma²⁵ a bronze dagger against me, and I was stabbed
 q-ta-an a-nu-ma dan i-na ^{ha-aš-ni} many times? ²⁶ Behold, he was able to commit²⁷
 40 ar-ni an-nu-ú ù i-na ar-ni this crime, so from another
 ša-ni mi-nu il-ti-ka-ni šum-ma crime what will save me? If
 2 arhē ia-nu sāba²⁸ pí-tá-ti within two months there are no archers,
 ù i-ti-si-ib āla^{KI} then I will abandon the city
 ù pa-aṭ-ra-ti²⁹ and depart, and
 45 bal-ta-at napišti-ia a-di my life will be safe while ³⁰
 i-pí-šu³¹ i-pé-eš libbi^bi-ia I do what I wish to do.
 ša-ni-ta(m) ú-ul ti-i-di Besides, art thou not aware
 at-ta mā-t a-mur-ri ur-ra thyself (that) the land of the Amorite day
 mu-ša tu-ba-ú-na (and) night longs for
 50 šāba pí-tá-ti ú-ul ta-ša-aš the archers? They have not become bitter
 \na-aḫ-ša-pu ù kī-bi a-na šarri (angry).³² And so say to the king:
 ku-uš-da ki-ma ar-ḫi-eš "Come with all haste."

Commentary

(1) On the name and identity of this Egyptian official, cf. JNES 5 (1946) 9 and references there given.

(2) In the letters from Byblos, *kāta(m)* is the regular form of the second sg. independent pronoun in the oblique cases. *Kāša*, frequent elsewhere in Amarna as in the Acc. of Boğazkoy (cf. Labat, L'Akkadien de Boghaz-Köi 56), is found only once in the Byblian

letters, and then as an accusative (132 35).

(3) *Yaqtulu*, used in Acc. only in subordinate clauses (the so-called "subjunctive"), is in Amarna Can., as in Ugaritic, the normal form of the indicative (cf. *aštapparu*, 89.7; 117 29; *yištapparu*, 103 20; *ašpuru* 23 44; *nili'u* 28 20, etc.) Frequently the energetic *-na* is suffixed (cf. *inašarūna*, 112 10; *tištaprūna*, 117 2, etc.). In this, as in so many other points, the verbal syntax is pure Canaanite.

(4) In the Byblos letters, as often in Accadian (cf. Ungnad, *Altbabylonische Briefe*, 176 9, etc.; see glossary 323 under *le'ū*), the infinitive with *le'ū* is in the acc. case (28 20-21; 102 19, 24-25; 104 32, 50-51; 114 35-36; 137 27), or if followed by an object, in the construct state (109 56; 113 29; 126 7-2, etc.). There is this difference however, reflecting probably the Can. idiom, that whereas in Acc. the infinitive regularly precedes *le'ū*, in Byblian usage it follows.

(5) The plural *hāsānūtu* is formed on the analogy of abstract collectives like *awilūtu*. The sg. *hāsānu* is derived from old *hāsi'ānu*, a form like Old Babylonian *dā'ikānu*, "murderer," etc., where *-ānu* is added to the participle to indicate professional status (cf. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* 61 above; also Goetze, *Language*, 22 [1946] 128 for a slightly different position).

(6) Frequently in the Byblos letters (105 36; 106 11; 118 47, etc.) a fem. sg. verb is construed with a masc. pl. subject taken as a collective. As is well known, the construction is common Can. idiom, found in the Can. Amarna letters, Ugaritic I AB ii 35, 36; iii 6-7; Keret B iii 18; vi 2, etc.), and in Biblical Hebrew (cf. CBQ 7 [1945] 22-23). Some scholars, however, maintain that the form is a 3rd pl. with a preformative *t* (A. Herdner, *RES* 1938 76-83; *UH* I 9 10). It is true that there are cases in the Amarna letters where the preformative *t* is found with a plural ending, such as *tadinūni* and *tuba'ūni(m)* (cf. Ebeling, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 8 50), but since conflate Can.-Acc. formations are so common in the Amarna letters, such evidence cannot be conclusive. It is also true that the majority of cases are not decisive, supporting either view. On the supposition, however, that the form in question is a plural, the following facts cannot be explained:—
1) The form, both in Amarna and in Ugaritic, appears constantly in the indicative without the ending *-na*, whereas if the form were plural, the reverse should be true. 2) Forms like *timahasanan[i]* (77 37; cf. Schroeder's copy) and *tišmana* (103 22) cannot be plurals either in Acc. or in Can., or by a conflation of the two. The former must be 3rd sg.

timahaša (with subjunctive force?; cf. note 21 below), with energetic *-na* plus the verbal suffix (for the energetic plus verbal suffix, cf. 77 22; 143 10; 251 11-12, etc.; judging from Amarna, we should vocalize *yqtlnh* in Ugaritic *yaqtulūnahū*). —*Tišmana* may represent either Can. *tišma^cna* or *tišma^c(ā,ū)na*, since the laryngeals produced irregularities in the orthography. It is difficult to find in the form any support for a supposed underlying *tišma^cūna*, according to which the scribe would have failed to represent a long vowel in an accented syllable. 3) The form is construed with a dual subject as in 117 17-18. That the subject was considered a dual is indicated by the dual perfect *ašā* in 14 and 19. Since the verb in question, *tubaluna*, cannot be a dual, it must be, as in Arabic, a 3rd fem. sg. (cf. also 117 54-56). The same construction is found in Biblical Hebrew, and the form is 3rd fem. sg. (cf. Mi. 4 2; Hab. 3 4). In view of the Arabic and Hebrew idiom, together with the evidence from Amarna, *ttb^c* in Keret A 30C, which is construed with the dual *ml'akm* (note the dual in 30B, *tš'an*), is to be taken as 3rd fem. sg. There is no reason to conjecture with Gordon that the dual also could have a preformative *t* in the third person (cf. UH I 9 10, note 1). 4) The gloss *naḫṣapū* (plural) in line 51 of this letter shows that *tašaš* (50) is not a jussive sg. but an indicative sg. construed with the subject *māt Amurri* taken as a collective (cf. 73 12-14 for the same construction). The form cannot be plural either in Can. or Acc; it can only be an Acc. 3rd fem. sg., the Canaanized form of which we find in 23 35 (*tišašūna*). We conclude, then, that the form must be, as in Arabic and Hebrew, a fem. sg., and where we do find it with *-na*, that this can only be the energetic. —Dt. 5 20-21, then, which Gordon cites for his position, merely preserves the *nun* of the old Can. energetic (for other examples in Biblical Hebrew, cf. JBL 63 [1944] 212 note 3; Dt. 33 3, also cited by him (Orientalia 16 [1947] 10) is a case of *obscurum per obscurius* and of no use whatever in deciding this problem (for a recent discussion of this obscure form, MT *tukku*, cf. Cross and Freedman, JBL 67 [1948] 200 note 16).

(7) The construction of lines 10-12 is basically the same as that of lines 16-17. The pleonastic negative *ul* has been discussed above. The imperfect-perfect sequence of tenses in the two clauses is pure Canaanite, and is frequently employed in Hebrew to express a general truth; cf. G-K-C 112 m.

(8) At Prof. Goetze's suggestion we use the *status indeterminatus* according to normal Acc. syntax. Since there is so little evidence one way or the other in Can. Amarna,

this does seem preferable. One may doubt, however, since the construction is foreign to Canaanite, whether the Can. scribes observed such niceties of Acc. syntax.

(9) "To me," and not "mit mir" with Knudtzon. Acc. *itti* is here used like Can. 'm (cf. UH III 12 1940), as elsewhere in the Byblos letters (27 10).

(10) On the pleonastic negative *lā*, cf. note 7 above. The construction, as already noted, is basically that of lines 10-12, but with this difference, that *kašid* is a *futurum exactum* (cf. G-K-C 106 o) and *ušširtī* has a future meaning, on which see note 12 below. Cf. G-K-C 159 o for an exact parallel in conditional clauses.

(11) The word in question is certainly Can. 'rš (cf. UH III 12 302; Hebrew *ʾarēšet*), as already noted by Winckler (The Tell-El-Amarna-Letters 59 page 134). One of the writers has also identified the root in EA 285, where, as he will show in a forthcoming study of the 'Abdu-Kheba letters, in line 11 we are to read [a-ta]r-šu, and in line 25 [a]-ra-šu.

(12) One of several certain occurrences in the Byblos letters of the so-called *waw*-consecutive with the perfect, two of which occur in this letter (lines 12 and 44; cf. also 73 14; 75 42; 23 27, 47, 50; 112 46; 137 47). This is clear proof of the antiquity of the construction in Can. For the evidence from inscriptions, cf. Zellig Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language 1936 39-40; to the three examples cited there from Punic should be added two more from the Nora stone (cf. BASOR 23 19).

(13) This rendering is based on the Hebrew idiom found in Prov. 13 12 (*wē'ēš hayyim ta'āwāh bā'āh*, "...and a tree of life is a desire fulfilled.") and Job 6 2 (*mī yittēn tēbō' še'ēlātī*, "Would that my request were granted..."). In the mind of the scribe, then, *kašādu* was equal to *bō'*, which equation is confirmed by a comparison of the use of *kašādu* in 93 7 with the use of *bō'* in Gen. 37 23 and I Sam. 9 12; cf. also Jer. 32 24 where *bō'* means "to reach."

(14) Prof. Goetze has called the writers' attention to the fact that *ERIN.MEŠ* is the ideogram of a singular in Amarna. Besides 76 32-33 (*uš-ši-ra ERIN.MEŠ pi-tā-ti / ra-ba*) and 129 36 (*a-nu-ma ERIN.MEŠ a-ša-at*), which he has indicated, cf. also 117 27, 137 42, and 138 98. We have an almost exact parallel to our passage in a recently published letter of Hammurabi where we read *ša-ba-am til-la-tam* (cf. Kupper, Revue d'Assyriologie 42 [1948] page 46 line 18'). —Apparently, to judge from 129 36 and 138 98, the scribes were familiar with Old Babylonian *šābu*, which is feminine (cf. Jean, Archives

Royales de Mari, II 22 lines 6 and 13: *ša bu um ki-bi-it-tum* and *ša-bu-um ka-al-la-tum*. They lapsed, however, into their native Canaanite, in which, as in Hebrew, *šaba(u)* was masc. (cf. 76 39; 117 27; 137 42). To be noted is that the apparently one clear instance in Hebrew of *šābā'* as fem. (Is. 40 2b) is made extremely doubtful by the new Isaiah scroll, where we read *ml'* and not *ml'h*.

(15) Not *bilati* (Knudtzon); cf. Ebeling, EA II 1591.

(16) Egyptian *p̄dyw*, "archers", a nisbe-formation (vocalize: *p̄iṭátyě*) of *p̄dt*, "bow" (Coptic: *p̄īte*); cf. JNES 5 (1946) 14. Old Egyptian *d* (pronounced *ǵ*, i. e., *dj*) split into two sounds, *ǵ* and *d*, both pronounced as voiceless unaspirated stops (W.H. Worrell, Coptic Sounds 14ff.); J. Vergote, Phonétique historique de l'Égyptien: Les consonnes 11 ff.), before the end of the third millennium. The former sound was regularly transcribed as *š* in Semitic and served to transcribe Semitic *s*; the latter sound was regularly transcribed (whether original *d* or *d̄*) by *t* in Semitic and served to render Semitic *t* (and *d*) in Egyptian. Examples are numerous; restricting ourselves to a few good examples of original Egyptian *d* in Semitic transcription we have: Eg. *db'.t*, "fingerring," whence Amarna plural *timbu'ēti* and Heb. *ṭabbā'at*; Eg. *dn'* "basket", from older Eg. *dn'* in *dn-'b*, etc., whence Heb. *ṭéne'*; (Pr)-*b3-nb-dd*, "Mendes," whence Assy. (7th century) *Bintete*.

(17) Since *uššar* in its six other occurrences in the Byblos letters is always found with an object expressed, and since the context demands it, we add *šsu*. Knudtzon (EA I 398 note e) has already noted the possibility of a small sign following.

(18) Can. 'al *yisma'*. To be noted is that there is considerable evidence in the Byblos letters that the vowel of the native Byblian preformative followed the Barth-Ginsberg law of dissimilation (cf. UH I 9 6; EA 73 16, *tilakūna* for Acc. *tallik* or *tallak*; E3 14, *yaḫbī* for Acc. *iḫbī*; E3 31, *yatina* for Acc. *iddina*; 117 60, *yašpur*, etc.)

(19) The construction is that of a conditional sentence with the protasis suppressed, to be supplied from context. "For, (if he does hear) who..."; cf. G-K-C 159 dd. On the introduction of a causal clause by the simple conjunction, cf. G-K-C 158 a.

(20) Though the identification of Iarimuta still eludes us, still we may rule out with certainty Biblical Jarmuth (cf. BASOR 87 13 note 30). —The evidence from the Amarna letters makes it virtually certain that very many place-names ended in all cases in a

(cf. UH I 8 9). The Egyptian *Execration Texts*, though indicating mimation in many Can. place-names and personal names, never do so in the case of those ending in *-ānu* (cf. Goetze, *Language*, 22 [1946] 129 note 48). This points to their being diptotes, which is confirmed by the presence in Ugaritic of the archaic feminine ending in *-y*, corresponding to the masc. *-ānu* (cf. Arabic *sakrān*, fem. *sakrā* for older **sakra*; Wright-Smith-de Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* I 309 241; on the Ugar. evidence cf. UH I 8 38). —Goetze has argued convincingly for the existence in Proto-Semitic of a feminine *-ayu* that corresponded to masc. *-ānu* (cf. *Language*, *ibid.*, 130)—by law in South Canaanite, *-ānu* > *-ōnu* and by dissimilation > *-ōna*; hence the nominative and oblique cases fell together. Thus *Aškalūna* (287 14, etc.), *Baṭrūna* (78 19, etc.), *Šarūna* (241 4), *šidūna* (85 71, etc.). The development is parallel in place-names ending in *-ūtu* (South Can. *ōtu* < *ātu*); hence *Iarimūta* and *Bērūta* (a gen. in 101 25; 114 15; 118 28).

(21) Ebeling (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 8 64) has probably identified the form correctly as a Can. *hiṣ'il*, i. e., *'auṣi'* > *'ōṣi'*, with a pronominal suffix. The vocalization need cause no difficulty, since verbs *tertiaae infirmae* receive very irregular treatment from the Can. scribes. Thus we find for the 3rd sg. masc. *yilḫi*, *yilḫa*, *yilku* (cf. 81 4 and 6 where the scribe shifts from *yilḫu* to *yilḫa* with no apparent syntactical reason). If there is a *yaqtula* form in Byblian Can. with subjunctive force—the writers have reached no definite conclusion on the matter, which is extremely elusive; cf. 85 34, 36 and 83 16, 19 where the shift from *yaqtula* seems significant, but also contrast 85 68, 81 (on the same problem in Ugar. cf. UH I 9 7 note 1)—then we have a perfect parallel in 138 68 where *ū yilḫanū* clearly has purposive force.

(22) Perhaps equals Can. *bhm*, "through their intermediation." If so, then from the fact that Can. *ba* = "from" = *ištu*, *ištu* took on analogically another meaning of Can. *ba*, "by means of, through." Cf. the similar treatment of *inūna*, which is employed with the various meanings of Can. *kī*.

(23) Again Can. idiom; cf. II Sam. 13 28: *hālō' kī 'ānōkī šiwvīti 'etkem* "... is it not true that it is I who have ordered you?". The phrase is certainly elliptical in origin, with *tīdī* or the like understood (cf. 75 14-15).

(24) The phrase *issiz muḫhiya* is here a bit obscure. In 85 8 it seems to correspond to Hebrew *'mā 'l* (cf. Dan. 8 25; 11 14) or *qwm 'l*, "to attack," and Ugar. *qm*, "adversary." Here, however, we probably have some Can. word meaning "to draw" or the

like, similar in form to Acc. *issiz*; though we should perhaps not rule out the possibility of an acc. of instrument (cf. *'eben*, Jos. 7 25; *kap*, Prov. 10 4?) and translate "and he attacked me with a bronze dagger." The same expression is found in 81 15, though the scribe tripped over the ideograms. *GĪR*, about which Knudtzon seems to have some doubt, is certain, since it is clear from Schroeder's copy that the gloss is to be read *[paṭ]-[r]a*.

(25) The form is a blend of *ammaḥaṣ* and *imḥaṣnī*. For the suffix *-nī* added directly to the verb (not *-annī*), cf. 87 8, 125 20, 137 24.

(26) The formula "nine times" to express frequent repetition is often found in the date-lists of Ur III; cf. Kugler, Sternkunde II 194; Reallexikon der Assyriologie II 142.

(27) The translation follows from the context, where Rib-Addi would seem to stress the impunity Abdi-Ashirta enjoyed in the first crime, and hence the imminence of another crime against himself, should he send a man to the Egyptian court; cf. lines 22-25.

(28) The evidence from Eyblos points to an accusative of specification after *iānu*. Thus *mimma* or *miamma* (79 34; 85 74; 92 21; 112 25; 116 42; 117 74); *ḫāzāna* (117 10; 138 26); *limna* (94 6); *libbi^bi šanā* (119 42) and *libba(m) šanā(m)* (136 41); *ERĪN.MEŠ ma-ṣarta* (137 22) and *maṣarata* (138 31); *ERĪN.MEŠ piṭata* (93 26?; 129 38, 49). The only evidence against this is *šari* in 137 71; other exceptions such as *še^{im}.ḪA* (85 10; 125 25, etc.), *mū^u* (85 54) etc., are all written ideographically and no importance can be attached to the phonetic complements, which are stereotyped and considered by the scribes part of the ideogram (cf. above *libbi^bi šanā[m]* in 119 42).

(29) Cf. note 12 above.

(30) Probably a Canaanitism reflecting Can. *ʿd*; cf. I Sam. 14 19.

(31) Probably a scribal error for *i-pu-šu*, because of following *i-PE-eš*. Prof. Goetze has suggested Old Babylonian *ippeš*, but since there is no evidence in Amarna of a knowledge of this form, our explanation seems to us preferable.

(32) On the interpretation of *tašaš* and its gloss, cf. note 6 above. In 93 4 *[na]ḫṣaptī* appears as the gloss of *[at]tašaš*.

Der luwische Name des Sonnengottes

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Einige Male ist in luwischen Zusammenhängen eine Gottheit *Tiyas* belegt, deren Namen in sonstigen Eoğazköy-Texten nicht vorzukommen¹ scheint: *Dti-ya-as* 381/b 16; *Dti-ya-d[a]* 316/e 5, *D?ti-ya-as-* 33/f 8 (das vor dem Namen stehende Zeichen ist schwer beschädigt; nach Kollation H. Ottens sieht es aus wie ein beschädigter gebrochener Senkrechter, nicht wie ein Rest von "an"). Dazu kommt die schwierige Stelle 4C3/f III 7, an der man geneigt sein könnte, *Ddi-ya-as* zu lesen; es steht dort als erstes Zeichen des Namens ein "ud" mit zwei eingeschriebenen Waagerechten, so dass man im Zweifel ist, ob es UTU oder *di* heissen soll. Die gleiche Zeichenform kehrt III 9 wieder, doch ergäbe sich dort die Lesung *Ddi-ti-i*. An zwei weiteren Stellen des Textes steht dagegen deutliches "ud": *DUTU-ya-za* II 12 und *DUTU-ya-ti* III 1C. Anscheinend ist wenigstens an den drei Stellen der Rückseite dieselbe Gottheit gemeint. Wenn die beiden Abschnitte III 7 f. und III 9 ff. auch noch nicht uebersetzbar sind, so machen sie doch den Eindruck einer fortlaufenden Erzählung:

- (III 7) *Dti?ya-as kam-ru-še-pa-i da-u-e-ia-an ma-am-ma* [.....]
za-a-ni-ya ku-ya-ti kam-ru-še-pa a-ya ku-ya-ti na-a [.....]
 (9) *xxxx-ši-is-za-aš-ya-aš-ya-as D[LAMA-aš Ddi?-ti-i da-a-ti-i tar-kum-mi-i* [a...]
DUTU-ya-ti EZEN.ŠE-in a-a-ta a-ya-ti za-ri-x [.....]
 (11) *[a-ya-ti a-li-in-za HUB.SAGH^H.A-ti-in-za KI.MIN* [.....]

leider ist sowohl Z.7 wie Z.9 die Verbalendung² weggebrochen; immerhin steht in beiden Zeilen einer Gottheit als Subjekt eine andere als Dativobjekt gegenüber, was mehr für eine Erzählung³ als für eine Beschwörung spricht.

1 Möglicherweise ist der Name dieser Gottheit enthalten in dem Personennamen *I-ti-ya-ta-pa-ra* KBo V 7 Rs. 28 (vgl. Bo St X 10).

2 Für *ma-am-ma* [....] dürfte sich verbaler Charakter ergeben aus *ma-(a)-am-ma-an-na-ad-du* VAT 7486 III 21; Bo 2885 I 10; zu *tar-kum-mi-i* [a...] vgl. das gleichlautende heth. Verb.

3 Z.11 bedeutet vermutlich 'er sieht (?) die weissen Berge'.

Zum Bau dieses Textes vgl. das allerdings schlechter erhaltene 316/e (luwisch):

- (5) *a-at-ta a-an-ta Dti-ya-d[...]*
 (6) *Dkam-ru-še-pa-aš-ši-iš hi-iš-ša* [.....]
 (7) *ya-aš-ša-a-an-ti-iš ANŠU.KUR.RA-uš* [.....]

In den luwischen Texten werden bei ideographischer Schreibung nur zwei Götternamen als Dentalstämme charakterisiert, der des Wettergottes und der einer Sonnengottheit. Von den Belegen für den Namen des Wettergottes wurden D_{X-ti} Eo 518 III 2, $D_{IŠKUR-za}$ 403/f II 9 und $D_{IŠKUR-ti}$ Eo 2450 II 18 zu $D_{ti-ya-az}$ passen; aber $IŠKUR-an-za$ Tunn. I 58, $D_{IŠKUR-aš-ša-an-za}$ Bo 2450 III 7, Eo 3369 II 14 verbieten die Gleichsetzung. Dagegen bestehen keine Bedenken, D_{UTU} als Ideogramm für D_{Tiyaz} anzusehen. Zwar sind D_{UTU-az} IX 31 II 30, D_{UTU-za} VAT 7429 II 25.26 und D_{UTU-ia} Eo 384E Rs.6 nicht entscheidend; aber $D_{UTU-ya-za}$ 277/c 9 passt sehr gut; dazu kommt das schon erwähnte $D_{UTU-ya-za}$ 403/f II 12, sowie das ebenfalls klare $D_{UTU-ya-ti}$ 403/f III 10; vgl. noch D_{UTU-ti} Eo 7589,6. Nicht weiterhelfen kann uns die Apposition⁴ $tati-$; zwar ist 381/b 16 [...(-)] $ta-a-ti-iš$ $D_{ti-ya-az}$ klar; aber 403/f III 9 ist die Lesung des Götternamens zweifelhaft: $D_{UTU??-ti-i da-a-ti-i}$ oder $D_{di?-<ua>ti-i da-a-ti-i}$.

Ausser der Form $D_{UTU-ya-az}$ gibt es auch eine Namensform $D_{UTU-ša-an-za-a[n?]}$ 4C1/b7. Aus diesen verschiedenen Komplementierungen ergibt sich, dass es im luwischen Pantheon mehrere Sonnengottheiten gab. So stehen nebeneinander [$la-b$] $a-ar-na-aš$ $D_{UTU-az-an}$ VAT 7486 II 13 (ergänzt nach Eo 5682,8) und $D_{UTU} U_{KU}TUL-na$ ebd. II 14 (ergänzt nach Eo 5682,9 und 12). Für die Frage nach dem Wesen des D_{Tiyaz} ist die schon erwähnte Apposition $tati-$ von Bedeutung. Längst bekannt⁵ ist die Pluralform $ta-ti-in-zi$ "Väter" IX 31 II 30. Der Singular dazu ist in mehreren Kasusformen belegt in einer in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen vorkommenden Aufzählung von Angehörigen der Umgebung des "Opferherrn", wie sie am besten erhalten in VAT 7429 II 2 f. vorliegt: (2) $AMA-ia-an ta-a-ti-ia-an$ $ŠEŠ-ia-an$ $SAL+KU-ia-an$ (3) $İR-ia-an$ $GEME-ia-an$ $LÚlu-u-la-ḫi-ia-an$ $LÚḫa-pí-ri-ia-an$ (4) $KUR-ša-aš-ša-an tu-ú-li-ia-an$ "die Mutter, den Vater, den Bruder, die Schwester, den Sklaven, die Sklavin, den Lulahi-Mann, den Hapiri-Mann⁶, die Landesversammlung".⁷

- (8) $a-at-ta a-an-ta D_{su-li-in}$ [-.....]
 (9) $D_{zi-li-pu-u-ra-aš-ša ḫa-a-ti-x}$ [-.....]
 (10) $D_{ia-ar-ri-iš ya-ar}$ [-.....]
 (11) $ḫa-at-ta-aš D_{nu-ú-pa-ti-ga-aš i-x}$ [-.....]

In der Anlage erinnern diese Texte z.T. an hethitische Mythen wie XII 26 u. XVII 10.

4 Auf die Parallele verwies mich H. Otten. — Wer 403/f III 9 D_{UTU} liest, erleichtert sich die Identifizierung sehr, muss aber hier und III 7 Verschreibung annehmen.

5 J. Friedrich, KIF I 371².

6 Ugaritische Texte machen es notwendig mit p zu umschreiben. In Ras Shamra wechseln $alḫal-bi$ $awiluti$ $SAG-GAZ$ mit $ḫlb$ c_{prn} ; s. Ch. Virolleaud, Syria XXI (1940) 143 und die dort zitierten Stellen.

7 Vgl. KUB XXXII S.2; H.Th. Bossert, Asia S.99.

Den Nominativ enthält Bo 4600 + Bo 8285,6: AMA-i-iš ta-ti-i-i[š ...]..(7)^{LÜ}la-la-*hi-iš*^{LÜ}ha-pi[-...], weniger gut erhalten 384/e Rs.14; den *ti*-Kasus 526/b Vs.29 [a-a]n-ni-*ia-ti ta*[-(a[?])-*ti-ia-t*]; GEMÉ-*ia-ti* IR[-*ia-ti*]; den Akkusativ Bo 2313 II 5 [a-a]n-ni-*ia-an ta-a-ti-i-ia-an*. Die sonstigen Belege für *tāti*- sind unergiebig.

Die Bezeichnung des ^DTiyaz als Vater erweist sein männliches Wesen. Es handelt sich also um einen Sonnengott, wie er im hethitischen Pantheon wohl bekannt ist⁸. - Das Beiwort "Vater" erinnert aber zugleich auch an den höchsten indogermanischen Gott, den Himmelsvater, dessen Name **dīēys* dem luwischen ^Dtiyaz nahesteht. Andererseits gleicht ^DTiyaz bis auf den anlautenden Dental dem heth. *šiyaz* "Tag", das [A.Götze und H. Federsen in Götze-Federsen, Muršilis Sprachlähmung (Kopenhagen 1934) 72f] auf das gleiche idg. Wort **dīēys* zurückführten. Endlich gibt es vereinzelt in heth. Texten eine Gottheit mit entsprechendem Namen: ^Dšī-*ya-at-ta-an* XX 53 V 5; die von H. Th. Bossert (Asia 88) erwogene Möglichkeit, hier DINGIR ^{LIM}ya-at-ta zu lesen, scheidet aus, da auch die übrigen erhaltenen Abschnitte dieses Textes jeweils mit einem Götternamen beginnen.

Vom "Himmelsvater" ist nur ein kleiner Schritt zum *ne-pi-ša-aš* ^DUTU-uš IX 31 II 1 || HT 1 I 54, der im luwischen Text als *u-ra-az* ^DUTU-az IX 31 II 30 || HT 1 II 6 wiedergegeben ist, wofür letzteren wir mit ^DTiyaz identifizieren.

Eine entsprechende Namensform scheint auch im Hieroglyphenhethitischen vorzuliegen. H. Th. Bossert zitiert (Oriens I, 1948, S.176) aus der "2.Kukululu-Inschrift"⁹ Z.1 den Namen des Sonnengottes als ^DUTU-*ya-na-*; jedoch beruht das *n* auf Ergänzung, da h.h. *-n-* am Silbenende nicht geschrieben wird. Man kann daher auch ^DUTU-*ya-da-* lesen, was zu den behandelten luwischen und hethitischen Formen des Namens stimmen würde; die anlautende Silbe müsste man allerdings einstweilen theoretisch ansetzen. Da im H.H. die Assibilation der Dentale zu unterbleiben scheint, dürfte der Name im H.H. wie im Luwischen gelautet haben; immerhin besteht jedoch die Möglichkeit, dass die keilschriftethetische Form des Namens ins H.H. entlehnt wurde.

Anhangsweise sei noch eine Erörterung über die luwische Bezeichnung der Gottheit im allgemeinen, also der Lesung von DINGIR angeschlossen, da diese in der neueren hethito-

⁸ S.A. Götze, Kleinasien 129f.

⁹ [Is this the same unpublished inscription which Bossert, Asia 131 etc. quotes as 'Kululu²? Does this 'Kululu' refer to Kululu Tepesi (Wil. Kayseri), see ibid. 144? A.G.]

logischen Literatur eine gewisse Bedeutung gewonnen hat. H.Th. Bossert möchte (Asia S.82;90) im Anschluss an H. Ehelclaf (ZA N.F.2, S. 318) *šiyanzanniš* "Gottesmutter (als Titel einer Priesterin)" als luwisches Kompositum auffassen. Bei der Beweisführung stützt er sich S. 95 auf Eo 2450 III 27, das allerdings beschädigt ist, so dass man [DINGIR^{MES}-ni-in-zi] transkribieren muss; Immerhin ist die Lesung ausreichend wahrscheinlich. Doch beweist sie nichts für den Anlaut. Das von Bossert weiter herangezogene [š]i-ya-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in VAT 7429 III 14 ist am Anfang unvollständig, wie sich aus dem mir von H. Otten nachgewiesenen Duplikat 384/e Rs. 12 ergibt:[...]x-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-at-t[a...]; besser erhalten in dem weiteren Duplikat (?) Eo 4600 + Eo 8285.4 a-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši[-...]; es liegt also ein ganz anderes Wort vor. Dagegen könnte man *ši-ya-an-na* Eo 4548 I 6 vergleichen; leider ist aber der Zusammenhang des schwer beschädigten Textes nicht herzustellen.

Unter diesen Umständen kann eine Entscheidung über die luwische Lesung des Ideogramms DINGIR nur mit theoretischen Gründen versucht werden. Lautgesetzlich wäre im Anlaut eines dem heth. *šiyanaš* entsprechenden Wortes ein Dental zu erwarten. Man käme dann für das luwische Wort auf eine ähnliche Gestalt des Stammes, wie sie für das Hieroglyphen-hethitische F. Meriggi KHA IV 104 vermutet hat, vgl. H. Pedersen, Hitt. 57, was jedoch von Bossert, Asia 137-141 abgelehnt wurde.- Will man diesen Weg nicht gehen, so muss man wohl annehmen, das hethitische Wort sei ins Luwische¹⁰ eingedrungen und dann luwisch flektiert worden. Unter dieser Voraussetzung konnte man auch *šiyanzanniš* als luwische Bildung in Anspruch nehmen.

Die Annahme, *šiyan-* sei nicht ursprünglich luwisch, wird durch das Vorkommen einer anderen Komplementierung von DINGIR empfohlen: DINGIR^{MES}li-in-[zi] Beick 1, 11 (jetzt VAT 16407, 11). Wagt man die Voraussetzung, dass im Luwischen wie im Hethitischen (und in andern idg. Sprachen) die Wörter für "Tag und "Gott" sowie der Name eines Hauptgottes von einem und demselben Stamm gebildet worden seien (vgl. lat. *dies, deus* und *Juppiter*), so konnte man als Lesung für die Gottheitsbezeichnung **tiyali-* vermuten. Eine entsprechende Form ist Eo 3600 + III 11 bezeugt:[...]x ti-ya-li-ia, wonach dann VAT 7429 + II 18 zu emendieren ist EN-ia ti-ya!-a-li-ia "dem Herrn Gott (?)" zu beziehen auf DUTU ebd.16. Leider ist der Anfang der Zeile unleserlich, die Fortsetzung aber noch unverständlich (*pi-ia-aš* von *pija-* "geben"?).- Ein Skeptiker könnte allerdings in *ti-ya-li-ia* eine adjektivische Ableitung vom Gottesnamen *D_tiyaz=* DUTU vermuten, doch sieht man nicht recht

10 Oder nur in einen Teil desselben S.u. über eine andere Komplementierung.

ein, was eine solche Eildung hier bedeuten soll.

Wie dem auch sei, die Komplementierung DINGIR^{MES}-li-in-[zi] erlaubt nicht, *šiyun-* als ursprünglich luwisch anzusehen. Demnach wird man die mit *šiyun-* gebildeten kappadokischen Personennamen (Bossert, Asia 81) ebenfalls dem Luwischen absprechen müssen. Das dort angeführte *Šimnuman* (= **šiyun-uman?*) macht zugleich die Frage nach der Herkunft des Suffixes *-uman* aktuell, mit dem sich zuletzt Bossert (Königssiegel 144ff.) eingehend befasst¹¹. Bisher ist es als produktiv nur im Hethitischen bekannt; in luwischen Texten kommt es nicht vor, zumindest nicht in der angegebenen Gestalt. Die gesamte Sachlage spricht also dafür, dass der hethitische Einfluss auf "Kappadokien" stärker war als der luwische. So erweist sich letzten Endes unser Thema nicht nur als fruchtbar für die Sprachwissenschaft, sondern auch für die Geschichte.

11 Vgl. F. Sommer, *Hethiter und Hethitisch* (1948) 16.85f.

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II

Enclitic Pronouns in Hurrian

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I

The Hurrian language¹ possesses a set of pronominal suffixes which are attached to the first word of the sentence and may be followed by other enclitic elements. With transitive verbs they indicate the goal of the action, with intransitive verbs² the actor of the action. The best known forms in this set of pronouns are *-tta* "me, I"³, *-tilla* "us, we"⁴, and *-lla* "them, they"⁵.

They are best recognized when attached to particles or the "small" words which frequently head the Hurrian sentence. These may be listed here:

anam(mi) "thus, in the same manner"⁶

anammi-tta-ma-n III 62, 64⁷; cf. KUB XXXII 22 2;

anammi-tilla-n I 76, II 67, IV 122;

anammi-lla-n II 56, IV 126;

anammi-lla-ma-n II 120, III 80.

inna- "some"⁸

inna-lla-ma-n IV 129.

- 1 The standard work on the Hurrian language is E.A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XX, 1941). Since it is the first comprehensive treatment of the language, all future work in the field has quite naturally to assume the form of additions to, or corrections of Speiser's statements. The book will henceforth be quoted as Speiser. The most important text, the 'Mitanni Letter' (=VS XII 200; J. Friedrich, Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler p. 8ff.), is referred to by the abbreviation Mit., and simply by column and line.
- 2 For the basic difference between transitive and intransitive verbs see Speiser §118ff. Within the intransitive class I myself distinguish between *a-* and *i-*verbs; see Language 16, 1940, 125ff.
- 3 Speiser, §214. Before him Bork, AfO 8 310; J. Friedrich, Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik 22f.
- 4 Speiser, §215 and previously J. Friedrich, l.c. 32f.
- 5 Speiser, §218. Before him F. Bork, Mitannisprache 63ff.; J. Friedrich, l.c. 26ff.
- 6 Cf. Speiser, §131.
- 7 Thus already L. Messerschmidt, Mitanni-Studien (MVAG 1899/4) 15ff.
- 8 As to usage *inna-* resembles (*i*)*ya-*. It can be used as a substantive (Mit. II 6, 16, III 12, 22, III 29, IV 129) as well as an adjective (II 14, 21, III 110). It can be

inu "(in the same manner) as"⁹

inu-dda KBo VI 33 I 3;

inu-tta-ni-n I 74, II 60(?).

(*i*)*ya-* "who, which"¹⁰

iya-tta-ma-n II 5

manna, for meaning see below 267.

manna-tta-ma-n II 85, III 63, 65; KUB VIII 60 obv. 19;

manna-tilla-ma-n IV 119;

manna-lla-ma-n I 8, 109, II 81, 121, III 102.

šuwe/a- "all"¹¹

šua-lla-ma-n I 88, 108, II 2C, 21, 29 etc.

For the pronouns in connection with transitive verbs a few examples may suffice here. Since the verb itself takes its place, more frequently than not, toward the end of the sentence, the pronoun immediately attached to the verb is relatively rare.

*šen-iwuw-t-ta-n*¹² *šilahušuš-t-i-wa-en* (IV 41)

"may my brother not disappoint me";

šapuša-tta-n tiššan *kat-uš-a* (I 95ff.)

"with(?) great he informed me"

gul-uš-a-tta-n nirupatae (IV 5f)

"he told me in".

..... *šine-tilla-ma-n en-na-šuš nakk-iten* (IV 117)

"may the gods bring both of us together".

šen-iwuw-l-la-n hašaš-i-wa-en (IV 110)

"may my brother not listen to them";

enlarged by the addition of *-ma/e* (see below 257f); in fact, in most cases it is (without it, only IV 129). It occurs sometimes with negated verbs (III 116, IV 110). The meaning 'some'; 'somebody/thing' seems to fit all occurrences.

9 L. Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* (MVAG 1899/4 15ff.).

10 Speiser, §§ 112, 130. It seems to me that (*i*)*ya-* is inflected, i.e. not a 'particle'; the 'acc. sgl.' is *ia-a-an* III 5, the 'acc. pl.' *ia-a-la-an* II 73, 82, 92, cf. furthermore *i-i-e-na-a-ma-a-ni-i-in* IV 21 (i.e. *ie-na-ma-ni-n*). Also *ia-a-al-le-e-[ni-i-in]* in *ia-b-le-ni-n šen-iwuw-we-na paššithi [pašš]-au* 'I dispatch my brother's envoys' (I 111f.) is pertinent. The frequent *i-i-al-la-a-ni-i-in* (and variants), however, is to be interpreted differently; see below, 262.

11 Speiser, § 114a.

12 From *šen-iwuw-š-ta-n*; see Speiser § 75.

anammi-lla-n undu šen-iwuw-ta gul-uš-au pa-li-i (II 5A)

"the way I told them to my brother is the truth";¹³

gipān-uš-āu-lla-ma-n "I dispatched them" (III 18);

tanill-et-a-lla-n ati-ni-n manna-lla-ma-an (I 109)

"he will make them, as many as there are".

It should be carefully noticed that in all the quoted examples the pronoun is the only goal involved; none of the passages contains a noun.

Examples for the pronouns with intransitive verbs, both those in *-i* and those in *-a* are contained in my paper "The Hurrian Verbal System" (Language 16, 1940, 125ff.) to which I may refer here for the sake of economy.

II

To the group of pronouns enumerated in section (I) the element *ma/me* has commonly been added,¹⁴ the assumption being that it represents the pronoun of the third person singular "he, him". This assumption is chiefly based on Mit. I 74ff. where in consecutive sentences the following parallel phrases appear (here arranged one above the other for better comparison):

inu-tta-ni-n henni šen-iwuw-š tat-ya

inu-me-ni-n henni šen-iwuw iša-š tat-au

"as now(?) my brother loves me,

(and) as now(?) I love my brother".

It is alleged that *-me* is in parallelism with *-tta* "me" and hence must be a pronoun too. However *-tta* is in parallelism with the noun *šen-iwuw(-n)*,¹⁵ and to maintain the interpretation of *-me* as meaning "him" necessitates the additional assumption that the goal "my brother" is anticipated by the pronoun "him".

13 Friedrich (Kleine Beiträge 40) and Speiser (§ 74), —the latter with some hesitation—, assume for *pali* the meaning 'false'. When the argument of the two authors is scrutinized, it appears that the given meaning is dependent on the interpretation of the verb form *guliama*. Friedrich assumes that it is a negated form, but this is by no means certain (see Language 15 253f.); I am inclined to see in it an unnegated form. If this proves true, *pali* must have the opposite meaning, i.e. 'correct, true'.

14 Thus, following Bork (AfO 8 310) and Friedrich (Kleine Beiträge 24ff.); Speiser §217.

15 The final *-n* is attached to the first word of the sentence; see JAOS 60 217ff.



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inna- "some"⁸
inna-lla-ma-n IV 129.

- 1 The standard work on the Hurrian language is E.A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XX, 1941). Since it is the first comprehensive treatment of the language, all future work in the field has quite naturally to assume the form of additions to, or corrections of Speiser's statements. The book will henceforth be quoted as Speiser. The most important text, the 'Mitanni Letter' (=VS XII 200; J. Friedrich, Kleinasiatiscbe Sprachdenkmäler p. 8ff.), is referred to by the abbreviation Mit., and simply by column and line.
- 2 For the basic difference between transitive and intransitive verbs see Speiser §118ff. Within the intransitive class I myself distinguish between *a-* and *i-*verbs; see Language 16, 1940, 125ff.
- 3 Speiser, §214. Before him Bork, AfO 8 310; J. Friedrich, Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik 22f.
- 4 Speiser, §215 and previously J. Friedrich, l.c. 32f.
- 5 Speiser, §218. Before him F. Bork, Mitannisprache 63ff.; J. Friedrich, l.c. 26ff.
- 6 Cf. Speiser, §131.
- 7 Thus already L. Meerschmidt, Mitanni-Studien (MVAG 1899/4) 15ff.
- 8 As to usage *inna-* resembles (*i*)*ya-*. It can be used as a substantive (Mit. II 6, 16, III 12, 22, III 29, IV 129) as well as an adjective (II 14, 21, III 110). It can be

inu "(in the same manner) as"⁹

inu-dda KBo VI 38 I 3;

inu-tta-ni-n I 74, II 60(?).

(*i*)*ya-* "who, which"¹⁰

iya-tta-ma-n II 5

manna, for meaning see below 267.

manna-tta-ma-n II 85, III 63, 65; KUB VIII 60 obv. 19;

manna-tilla-ma-n IV 119;

manna-lla-ma-n I 8, 109, II 81, 121, III 102.

šuwe/a- "all"¹¹

šuma-lla-ma-n I 88, 108, II 2C, 21, 29 etc.

For the pronouns in connection with transitive verbs a few examples may suffice here. Since the verb itself takes its place, more frequently than not, toward the end of the sentence, the pronoun immediately attached to the verb is relatively rare.

*šen-iwuw-t-ta-n*¹² *šilahušuš-t-i-wa-en* (IV 41)

"may my brother not disappoint me";

šapūḫa-tta-n tiššan *kat-uš-a* (I 95ff.)

"with(?) great he informed me"

gul-uš-a-tta-n nirupatae (IV 5f)

"he told me in".

..... *šine-tilla-ma-n en-na-šuš nakk-iten* (IV 117)

"may the gods bring both of us together".

šen-iwuw-l-la-n ḫašaš-i-wa-en (IV 110)

"may my brother not listen to them";

enlarged by the addition of *-ma/e* (see below 257f); in fact, in most cases it is (without it, only IV 129). It occurs sometimes with negated verbs (III 116, IV 110). The meaning 'some'; 'somebody/thing' seems to fit all occurrences.

9 L. Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* (MVAG 1899/4 15ff.).

10 Speiser, §§ 112, 130. It seems to me that (*i*)*ya-* is inflected, i.e. not a 'particle'; the 'acc. sgl.' is *ia-a-an* III 5, the 'acc. pl.' *ia-a-la-an* II 73, 82, 92, cf. furthermore *i-i-e-na-a-ma-a-ni-i-in* IV 21 (i.e. *iye-na-ma-ni-n*). Also *ia-a-al-le-e-[ni-i-in]* in *ia-b-le-ni-n šen-iwuw-we-na paššitḫi [pašš]-au* 'I dispatch my brother's envoys' (I 111f.) is pertinent. The frequent *i-i-al-la-a-ni-i-in* (and variants), however, is to be interpreted differently; see below, 262.

11 Speiser, § 114a.

12 From *šen-iwuw-š-ta-n*; see Speiser § 75.

anammi-lla-n undu šen-iwvu-ta gul-uš-au pa-li-i (II 5A)

"the way I told them to my brother is the truth";¹³

gipan-uš-au-lla-ma-n "I dispatched them" (III 18);

tanill-et-a-lla-n ati-ni-n manna-lla-ma-an (I 109)

"he will make them, as many as there are".

It should be carefully noticed that in all the quoted examples the pronoun is the only goal involved; none of the passages contains a noun.

Examples for the pronouns with intransitive verbs, both those in *-i* and those in *-a* are contained in my paper "The Hurrian Verbal System" (Language 16, 1940, 125ff.) to which I may refer here for the sake of economy.

II

To the group of pronouns enumerated in section (I) the element *ma/me* has commonly been added,¹⁴ the assumption being that it represents the pronoun of the third person singular "he, him". This assumption is chiefly based on Mit. I 74ff. where in consecutive sentences the following parallel phrases appear (here arranged one above the other for better comparison):

inu-tta-ni-n henni šen-iwvu-š tat-ya

inu-me-ni-n henni šen-iwvu iša-š tat-au

"as now(?) my brother loves me,

(and) as now(?) I love my brother".

It is alleged that *-me* is in parallelism with *-tta* "me" and hence must be a pronoun too. However *-tta* is in parallelism with the noun *šen-iwvu(-n)*,¹⁵ and to maintain the interpretation of *-me* as meaning "him" necessitates the additional assumption that the goal "my brother" is anticipated by the pronoun "him".

13 Friedrich (Kleine Beiträge 40) and Speiser (§ 74), —the latter with some hesitation—, assume for *pali* the meaning 'false'. When the argument of the two authors is scrutinized, it appears that the given meaning is dependent on the interpretation of the verb form *guliama*. Friedrich assumes that it is a negated form, but this is by no means certain (see Language 15 253f.); I am inclined to see in it an unnegated form. If this proves true, *pali* must have the opposite meaning, i.e. 'correct, true'.

14 Thus, following Bork (AfO 8 310) and Friedrich (Kleine Beiträge 24ff.); Speiser §217.

15 The final *-n* is attached to the first word of the sentence; see JAOS 60 217ff.

The theory of pronominal anticipation¹⁶ is entirely unwarranted and has resulted in a confusion of *-lla(n)* and *-la(n)*, as will be shown in section (IV) below. It is much more likely that *-me* merely strengthens the conjunction *inu*. There is nothing in *-me* that would indicate a relationship with *-tta* etc. In fact, *-me* neither fits the phonological pattern of those pronominal suffixes that are firmly established, nor does it share their syntactic behavior. In particular, *-me* is admittedly¹⁷ never added to forms of the verb.

Moreover, those who adhere to the theory of an anticipatory pronominal object would have to admit that a plural is anticipated not only by the accusative plural "them", but also by the accusative singular "him, it"; they will be unable to tell us when the one treatment is necessary and when the other. The passage that would necessitate that conclusion is Mit. IV 115f.:

inu-me-ni-n šehur-n-iwua-š hutan-n-iwua-š šarill-ett-a

"as..... our fates(?) (and) our destinies(?) will demand".

The plural forms¹⁸, one should think, would have to be anticipated by the pluralic *-lla*, not by *-me*.

It seems to me necessary to return to the view of L. Messerschmidt (Mitanni-Studien 55) that *-me* is the particle of indefiniteness. For him the following passage (Mit. II 62) was decisive:

iye-me-ni-n šen-iwuu-š gipan-et-a-mma-ma-n andu-we-ne-atta-n etiyē teunae tiššan
[*pis-ušt-ewa*]

"whatever my brother will send, about that I shall very much rejoice".

It has a very close Akkadian parallel¹⁹ in EA 19 52f.:

u minummē ša ahu-ya ušēbilu u ammiti danniš hadāku

"whatever my brother sent, about that I was very glad".

The view has been expressed that an indefinite generalizing notion is brought about in Hurrian by the suffix, or the cluster of suffixes, *-maman*.²⁰

16 See J. Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 24ff.

17 This was rightly pointed out by J. Friedrich, *l.c.* 25f.

18 See below 262.

19 The parallel suggests the equation Hurr. *anti-* = Akk. *ammitu* 'that'. Friedrich, RHA 35 98ff. argued in favor of *anti-* 'this', an opinion that was adopted by Speiser (§ 110). To judge from Mit. II 61, if compared with EA 19 52, it seems to me that 'this' is in Hurrian *anš(u)-*.

20 L. Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* 55, 81; J. Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 21. Speiser (§ 219) ascribes to *-maman* an identifying force.

This becomes doubtful however, when passages like the following are compared:

ya-me-ni-n eti-mwa pal-au (III 91)

"whatever I demand for myself"

iye-ma-ni-n Giliya-š Mane-šš-an gul-et-a šen-innu-we-ne etiyē

"whatever Giliya (and) Mane will say concerning my brother"

The inference seems reasonably certain that the indefinite idea is carried by the element *-me* alone. For *-mmaman* a new explanation will be offered below in section (V).

Messerschmidt's view satisfies all requirements of the actual occurrences and should never have been abandoned. The combination *(i)ya/e-me-* is best rendered by "whoever, whatever", *inu-me* by "in exactly the same way as"; *inna-me-* probably means "everybody, everything", and *ai-ma-* "solus, solum".²¹

III

If *-me* is thus stricken from the list of pronominal suffixes, we are entirely free to ascribe the meaning "him", "her", "it" to some other element of the language. The view may be expressed here that it is contained in the final *-n* of the following examples:

undu-ma-n ar-uš-au-n "whereas I gave her (i.e. the girl)" (III 2);

haš-uš-au-n pišand-uš-i-tta-n "I heard it (and) I rejoiced" (IV 9).²²

Whenever this element is followed by some other enclitic, it assumes the fuller form *-nna*, i.e. a form which is patterned like *-tta* "I, me" and *-lla* "they, them". This is the case in *haš-uš-au-nna-n* (IV 6) "I heard it", *hiš-uš-au-nna-n* (IV 106) "I minded it", *pukl-uš-au-nna-n* "?" (II 17).²³

The fact is easily demonstrated that syntactically *-nna* behaves in the same way as the well established pronouns.

21 Mit. IV 54f.: 'He should send Mane; my brother will send nobody but Mane (*a-i-ma-a-ni-i-in* ^I*Ma-ni-en*)'. — Mit. IV 9ff.: 'I shall get very angry solely about what my brother thus failed to do (*a-i-ma-ni-i-in* *ta-a-nu-š-i-i-wa-al-la-a-an-ni*)'. — Mit. III 110ff.: 'No misfortune must befall my brother; should any other misfortune (*a-i-ma-a-ni-i-in* *du-ru-be*) nevertheless(?) befall thee, my brother.'. — Mit. IV 59f.: 'In fact(?) nothing else (*a-i-ma-a-ni-i-in*) will he (and) say'. — In recently published texts — all of them at present unintelligible — the following occurrences are found: *a-i* ABoT 37 rev.11; *a-i-na-an* KUB, XXXII 19 IV 5; *a-i-im* KUB XXXII 19 I 34; *a-i-ma* KUB XXXII 24 II 5; ABoT 37 rev.6, rev. 8; *a-i-im-ma* KUB XXXII 19 I 70, IV 10, 12; *a-i-im-ma-an* KUB XXXII 19 I 43; *a-i-im-ma-na-an* KUB XXXII 19 III 14.

22 In both instances the sense requires an object.

23 The question as to the reasons for the second *-n* I am unable to answer.

It is found after particles etc. at the beginning of sentences. Thus:

šummi-nna-m KUB XXIX 8 IV 21;²⁴

šuwanu-nna KUB XXVII 10 V 8;²⁴

šura-nna-ma-n I 63, 66, 68, III 24, 28; KUB XXVII 54 IV 10.²⁵

The following imperatives are good examples for the use of the element *-nna* for the goal of transitive verbs

na-ši-en-na-an (III 49) "audito eum/id";

a-ra-an-ni-en-na-ma-an (III 41) "legito eum/id".

The first must be compared with²⁶ *na-ši-e-ni-il-la-a-an* (III 40) "audito eos", i.e. *haš-eni-lla-n*. It therefore must be analyzed as *haš-eni-nna-n* and syncope of the *i* between the two *ns* assumed.

As agent of an intransitive verb we have *-nna* in

it-ta-in-na-an (IV 53) "ito".

It compares with *it-ta-i-šal-la-a-an* (IV 52) "eunto". Hence we have to divide *itta-inna-n* and *ittai-ša-lla-n*.²⁷

The *i*-verbs likewise offer a few examples. The form

hi-il-lu-si-ik-ku-u-un-ni (IV 12, cf. 4)^{27a}

contrasts with *hi-il-lu-ši-ik-kat-ta-a-an* (I 52) "I was angered". For its analysis the circumstance must be remembered that after the suffix *-kk-* not only *-ni*, but also *-na* is found. Thus we have *i-šu-ú-ku-ši-ik-ku-u-un-na* (IV 99) and *ú-ru-uk-ku-un-na-ma-an* (III 124). The variation has obviously to do with a difference in number as can best be seen when

te-e-na ka-ti-i-in-na (III 1C1)

is confronted with

te-a ka-ti-ik-ku-u-un-ni (IV 2).

In both cases we seem to deal with verbal forms which are nominalized by attaching to them the article (*ni/e* for the singular, *-na* for the plural).²⁸

24 Meaning unknown.

25 Speiser §114a.

26 *a-ra-an-ni-e-la-an* (III 39) is on a different level. See below 263.

27 What is the meaning of the element *-ša-?*

27a Compare — besides the frequent *ašhušikkunni* — now also *ha-a-ši-ik-ku-un-ni*, *wu-u-ri-ik-ku-un-ni*, *ga-a-ti-ik[-ku-un-n]i* KUB XXXII 19 I 19f. and *ta-ap-pi-ik-kal* KUB XXXII 19 II 28; *na-ku-ul-li-ig-ga-al* KUB XXXII 19 IV 27.

28 The problem arises immediately as to what difference there is between this form and that in *-šše* (Speiser §164). It would deserve a special treatment.

One will have to analyze *kati-nna-na* "(things) which are being declared by him/her", and *kati-kku-nna-ne* "(a thing) which is being declared by him/her". The analogous form of *hil-* should be *hill-uš-i-kku-nna-ne* "(a thing) which had been told by him" or perhaps "to him". The forms, as they actually occur, have been modified by syncope.

This is apparently also the case with *ša-a-ru-ši-i-in-ni* (IV 79) "(a thing) which was requested by him" or "with regard to him" (the context is mutilated). It should be construed as *šar-uš-i-nna-ni*. Another pertinent form is *ú-ú-ri-uw-wu-un-na-a-an* (IV 56), i.e. *wuri-uwu-nna-n* "there is no demand for him, he is not wanted".

In all the quoted instances, and in fact in all those occurrences that are intelligible, a third person singular is strongly indicated.

IV

In section (I) the fact has been acknowledged as true that the enclitic element *-lla* refers to a third person plural. The previous investigators, however, have not kept apart *-lla* from the quite different element *-la*. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that none of the examples for *-la* justifies the assumption that this element means "they, them". Moreover, not all examples of *-lla* contain the pronoun of the third person plural.

The observation is fundamental that the pronoun *-lla* is found only when the sentence contains no nominal object, the element *-la(n)* on the other hand always belongs to a noun that may either immediately precede or follow later in the sentence. To understand this statement fully, it must be recalled that the final *-n* of the *n*-form of the noun is not an "accusative suffix" as Indoeuropeanists and Semitists may think, but an independent element;²⁹ as such it is detachable and appears normally as an enclitic after the first word of the sentence. In plural nouns this *-n* is preceded by the pluralic *-š* which in this position shifts to *-l*, so that the group *-l-an* results.³⁰ The whole group is detachable exactly like *-n* alone; in cases, however, where the first word is already saturated with suffixes the pluralic *-š* (here unchanged) remains with its noun.³¹ In other words the following distributions of noun and "suffixes" are possible.

I. Noun without article

(a) sgl. *ašti-n, nihari-n, tiwe-n*pl **eni-l-an, tiwe-l-an*(b)-*n ašti, nihari, tiwe*.....-*n eni-š, tiwe-š*

29 See JAOS 60 217ff.

30 See RHA fasc. 39 197ff., 203.

31 The matter has been summarized already in Language 19, 1943, 172ff.

- (c)-l-an eni, tiwe
- II. Noun with article or possessive
- (a) sgl. ašti-ne-n, tiwe-ne-n pl. *eni-na-l-an, *tiwe-na-l-an
 šen-iwmu-n paššitḫ-iwmu-l-an
- (b)-n ašti-ni, tiwe-ni-n *eni-na-š, tiwe-na-š
-n šen-iwmu-n šehur-niwma-š
- (c)-l-an *eni-na, tiwe-na
-l-an paššitḫ-iwmu

The bearing of this set of phenomena on the problem of the pronominal suffixes is immediately apparent. The conglomeration *-lan* appears with plural nouns in (Ia), (Ic), (IIa) and (IIc). Before, however, actual occurrences can be taken up, it must be added that various syncopations and assimilations obscure the expected forms. In (Ia) the final vowel of the stem will be syncopated if an *n* preceded, in (IIa) the *a* of the article *-na* is syncopated and its *n* assimilated to the following *l*; moreover in (Ic) and IIc *-lan* when following the *-š* of the agent produces *-llan*. Thus in all these cases *-llan* results, i.e. forms which look as if they might contain the pronoun "they".

(Ia): Examples are rather rare.

ai-l-an Mane-š Giliya-l-lan guliama (IV 20f.) "Mane (and) Giliya will say the only (valid ones (i.e. words))".

ya-l-an tan-au ul-la (II 92) "the other ones which I made".

(Ib): No example has been found so far.

(Ic): Likewise rare:

šen-iwmu-l-l-an tiwe *ḫašaš-i-wa-en* (IV 19f.) "my brother may not listen to the words"

(IIa):

ya-l-le-ni-n šen-iwmu-we-na paššitḫe [*pašš*]-*au* (I 111f.) "those envoys of my brother's whom I sent"³².

eni-l-l-an šen-iwmu-we-na pallai-ša-lla-n (IV 65) "may the gods of my brother prove helpful".³³

32 In this passage then *ya-l-le-ni-n* is from **ya-na-le-ni-n*. All the other examples of *i-i-al-la/e-a/e-* are of a different kind. They are invariably followed by a nominalized verb in *-šše-na*, i.e. they are in nominal sentences ('that are such as').

33 Cf. EA 21 31f.: *ilānī-ia ū ilānū ša aḫi-ya liššurū-šunū* 'may my gods and the gods of my brother protect them'.

paššith-iwuw-l-an šen-iwuw-š šuram-ašt-i-en nakk-i-en (IV 41f.) "may my brother hasten (and) dispatch my envoys".

(IIb):

[*ati-ni*]-*n manna-lla-ma-n attart-iwua-š* [.....] (I 8f.)

inu-me-ni-n šer-re-tan en-n-ib-tan šehur-n-iwua-š hutan-n-iwua-š šarill-ett-a (IV 115f)
"from the, your god, our fates(?) (and) our destinies(?) will demand".

(IIo):^{33a}

ha-i-eni-l-an šen-iwuw-š wirate-na šua-lla-ma-n (III 30f.) "may my brother take the w., all of them".

eta-l-an paššith-iwuw kus-uš-u (IV 45) "there my envoys you detained"

arann-i-eni-la-n šen-iwuw-š tuppi-ya-š (III 39) "may my brother read their³⁴ tablets".

V

Hurrian possesses one other element, *-mma*, that is suspiciously similar in form and usage to the enolitic pronouns *-tta*, *-tilla* and *-lla*.

It occurs in completely identical fashion with particles etc. The evidence is as follows:

anam(mi) "thus, in the same manner":

anammi-mma KUE XXIX 8 IV 17.

inna- "some":

inna-mma-ma-n III 11C, 116.

(*i*)*ya-* "who, which":

iya-mma-ma-n IV 18, 24;

iye-mma-ma-n II 98, 101.

manna, see presently:

manni-mma-ma-n I 16, III 5, 10, 100.

Of other occurrences I mention here:

katill-et-a-mma-ma-n (II 102) "he will communicate to thee";

33a Here belongs probably the group of verbs in *-mballa* contained in KUB XXXII 19 III. Among them are, e.g., *ku-u-li-in-bal-la*, *ha-ši-im-bal-la*, *da-a-ni-in-bal-la*,^{21ff.}
eh-li-im-bal-la. For the *-mb-* element cf. Speiser §138a; I have asked myself whether it may signify a negation like 'not yet'.

34 In this case the article is, as often, replaced by a possessive suffix. It seems indeed, as Speiser (§147) assumes, that the final *-š* is part of the suffix.

.....-mma šiya I 91f. (below 265)^{34a}

This situation suggests, to say the least, that just as *-tia*, *-tilla*, *-lla*, also *-mma* is a pronoun. The question arises: if so, what person does it represent? After what has been stated in sections (I) and (III) above the answer must be: the second person. Quite naturally preference would have to be given to the second person singular "thou". It remains to be shown that "thou" indeed fits the requirements of the actual occurrences.

The long passage Mit. IV 18ff. seems to be most significant in this respect. It deals with *tive šurwā*, in all probability the Hurrian equivalent of *idalus memiyaš* "the bad word" i.e. "malicious gossip", a common topic of Hittite treaties.³⁵ The Hurrian passage stipulates, to state it briefly, that rumors which are uncomplimentary to one of the two friends shall be taken as true only if they are confirmed by the official ambassador. The passage comprises four parallel sections and runs roughly as follows:³⁶

(1a) "Thou must not give credence to words reaching x concerning me or my country" (IV 18-21);

(1b) "Thou shalt exclusively listen to such words concerning me and my country which thy envoy will communicate to thee" (IV 21-23);

(2a) "There will be no credence given to words reaching me concerning thee or thy country" (IV 24-27).

(2b) "Only those words concerning thee or thy country which my envoy reports will be given credence by me" (IV 27-29).

It follows with absolute certainty that the x in sentence (1a) must mean "thou, thee". It is the *-mma* in *i-i-a-am-ma-ma-an ka-ti-le-e-wa šu-u-we-ni-e e-ti-iw-wu-ú-e* ^{KUR}*u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-ni-e e-ti-e-e*.³⁷

34a Comparison between *gi-lu-ša-a-al* KUB XXXII 56 5 and *gi-lu-ša-a-um* KUB XXXII 45 13 suggests that the latter is *gil-uš-au-m* and contains a pronoun at the end. If so, *gi-lum-ma* KUB XXXII 44 2 and *gi-lum* ibid. 13, 16 should also be pertinent. Compare furthermore *ú-na-am-ma* XXXII 42+43 obv. 3; XXXII 49 III 5.

35 See V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* 77f.

36 In the following paraphrase the polite 'my brother' has been replaced by 'thou' for the sake of simplicity. It should be remarked, however, that the corresponding possessive 'thy' is expressed by the respective possessive suffix (and not by the genitive 'of my brother') also in the Hurrian original.

37 The occurrences of *-mma* in IV 18 and IV 24 must be interpreted accordingly. In the first passage I translate: 'thou, my brother, must not listen to such words (*tive ane-na-mma-ma-n*)'; the translation will be justified presently. The second passage I render: 'on the other hand, whatever communication concerning thee, my brother,

After this demonstration it is no longer surprising to find *-mma* in the same sentence together with the possessive "thy". A case in point is KUB XXIX 8 17ff., although the passage is not translatable as yet. After the first word the Hittite phrase "and here he calls the sacrificer by name"³⁸ is inserted; in other words the sentence contains a vocative. The remainder reads: *a-na-am-mi-im-ma i-ti-pa pa-a-ši-pa ir-ti kar-ši ha-ab-su-ri gul-du-bi-in*. The implied vocative makes it necessary to be on the lookout for a second person; it is also required by the possessive "thy" that is contained in the *-pa* which occurs twice.³⁹

From the Mitanni letter the following sentence is pertinent (I 91f.): *še-e-na-pa-an e-ti-i-e-e-im ma-ma-an ta-še-e-ni-e-wa wu-ri-i-ta ši-ia* "on account of the present⁴⁰, x is pleased with thy brother", i.e. "with me". In the nature of things the x which is contained in the *-mma* can only be "thou" so that the sentence means "thou art pleased with thy brother".

Another case of contrast between "me" and "thee" is provided by Mit. III 115f. when compared with III 110f. While the former says "should, on the other hand, misfortune befall me (*šu-u-u-we du-u-ru-bi*)", the latter reads:

inna-mma-ma-n šen-iwvu-we dūrubī uru-uw-en

"misfortune of my brother, any of thee, must not happen"

i.e. "misfortune must in no circumstances befall thee". The second person "thee" is not absolutely necessary here, since it is already implied by the polite "my brother". But if the just presented passages are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the combination of the pronoun *-mma* with "my brother" must be rendered by "thou, my brother" etc.

Here are some additional occurrences of this kind:

īye-ma-ni-n tiwe Mane-š šen-iwvu-ta katill-et-a-mma-ma-n (II 101f.)⁴¹

"whatever word Mane will communicate to thee, my brother";

(or) concerning thy country (*īya-mma-ma-n šen-iwvu-we-ne-e etiye*) should be made to me,

38 This feature recalls the similar passage in IV 28 of the same text where instead of *anamimma* the fuller expression *a-na-am-mi aš-hu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni* is found. In other words the pronoun with the following 'vocative' is replaced by the nominalized verb (see RHA 35 105 fn. 12; 39 198 and also Speiser §186) **aš-hu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni* 'the one who was mentioned before'.

39 See Speiser §145.

40 Cf. *umin-iwvu-wa wuri-ta* (III 88, 94) 'on account of my country'.

41 The position of the particles after the verb seems to be a feature found in such 'relative sentences'; it would deserve special investigation.

iye-me-ni-n šen-iwuw-š gipan-et-a-mma-ma-n (II 62f.)^{41a}

"whatever thou, my brother, wilt send"

Furthermore perhaps IV 77 (mutilated).

This stylistic feature has an analogue in Tušratta's Akkadian letters. The sentence *ū inanna aḫu-ya šalmū uppuqūtu ša abu-ka ušēbbilu lā tušēbila* should be rendered "and now thou, my brother, didst not send me the statues of solid metal which thy father might have sent". Quite commonly the pronoun "thou" alternates with the expression "my brother" in neighboring clauses. E.g., *kī attā itti abi-ya ṭābāta ū aššum annītim altapar-ma aqtabak-ku kīnē aḫu-ya išemē-šunū-ma ū ihaddu* (EA 17 21ff.) "that t h o u maintained friendly relations with my father, I sent and told t h e e for the reason that m y b r o t h e r may hear the facts and rejoice".

This too recurs in Hurrian. Here are the occurrences:

elart-iwuw-we-na-še-mma-ma-n niḫari-ya-še tuppi-ya-š tuppukku (III 44f.)

"tablets of their dowries connected with my *elarti* are specified for thee".

There follows immediately *šen-iwuw-nna-n*.

ati-ni-n šimigine-we-ne-mma-ma-n amm-uš-a (I 94f.)

"and what is due to the Sun-god he presented(?)⁴² to thee".

šen-iwuw- appears in the second next sentence.

*pazi-ma-n iye-mma-ma-n wur-uš-au-šše [...] -du-um-mi*⁴³ *iyummi-mma-ma-n umin-iwuw tan-uš-a-šše uru-kku* (II 98f.)

"What *pazi*⁴⁴ of thine I knew (and what) my country made(?)⁴⁵ happen to thee". The following sentence begins with *šen-iwuw-š*....

tiššanna-ma-n uru-kku-n [...] -šu-a-a-ni umin-na-ša šuwa-n-ia-ša-mma-ma-n (II 95f.)

"very much happens to the countries as many as there belong to thee".

The word *šen-iwuw-š* appears in the next line.

41a. *šen-iwuw-š gipan-et-a* alone would undoubtedly mean 'my brother will send' with the 'third person' of the transitive verb; it seems that the additional suffix *-mma(-ma-n)* transfers the sentence from the third to the second person. The construction is not harder than *aḫu-ya* *tušēbila* quoted above, or Hitt. *Zintuḫis* *ištamašti* '(thou,) Zintuḫis hearest' (see Güterbock, JAOS 65 253 for this and other examples).

42 For the verb cf. RHA fasc. 35 108 with fn. 26; *a-mu-le-e-eš* KUB XXIX 8 III 29 and *am-mu-u-ši-en-na-a-an* KUB XXXII 46 22 should be added there.

43 The restoration [*id*] *-du-um-mi* is very doubtful; the word is probably an infinitive in *-ummi* (Speiser §172), but 'going' seems not to make sense.

44 The meaning is unknown.

45 The construction is not quite clear to me; *umin-iwuw* can in no circumstances be the agent of the action expressed by *tan-uš-a*.

arann-eni-l-an šen-iwmu-š tuppi-ya-š šinia-še-na-mma-ma-n haš-eni-lla-n (III 39f.)

"my brother should read their tablets, (those) of both of them that are with thee; (and) he should hear them"

Furthermore IV 109 (mutilated).

There remain the passages that offer *manne-mmc-ma-n*. Speiser has made it likely^{45a} that it means "to be"; in combination with enclitic pronouns it may well be translated by "to have". Mit. III 35ff. can be understood as follows: "Whereas thou hast a tablet dealing with my father's daughter, my sister, (and) thou hast a specific tablet dealing with dowry, (the only thing required is) that my brother reads their tablets".

The combination *ati-ni-n manni-mma-ma-n* should be interpreted in accord with *ati-ni-n manna-lla-ma-n* etc.⁴⁶ A survey of the occurrences shows that the phrases are often correlated with *šuwanna-ma-n/šuwalla-ma-m* "all of it/them".⁴⁷ In this respect the passage Mit. I 107ff. is revealing; it reads: "All the things (*tiwe-na šuwa-lla-ma-n*) which my brother desires in his heart, he (i.e. the god) will perform them *ati-ni-n manna-lla-ma-n*"; this can hardly mean anything else but "every single one of them". In quite analogous fashion, in Mit. II 82ff., a contrast exists between "all the other countries (*[ul]la umin-na šuwa-lla-ma-n*)" and *ati-ni-n manna-tta-ma-n* which in the last effect must mean "everything connected with (belonging to) me".

Formally the expressions seem to be independent nominal clauses. If the particles *-ni* and *-ma* are disregarded, one may literally translate "that which is (*-n*) connected with (belongs to) (*manni/a.....n*) a person (expressed by the pronoun)".

If now *ati-ni-n manni-mma-ma-n* in Mit. III 99f. is taken up, the sense seems to be fairly transparent: "the gold statue of mine, my brother,⁴⁸ (and) everything(else) that belongs to thee shall remain intact as long as heaven and earth (exist)"⁴⁹. The other passages containing *manni-mma-ma-n* are either mutilated (I 10) or obscure because of our failure to understand the respective verbs (III 5, 10).

In the same way as alongside *-nna* the shorter form *-n* exists, the possibility

45a JAOS 59 302ff.; Introduction §125.

46 The passages are listed above p. 256.

47 Speiser §114a.

48 The restoration is not absolutely certain.

49 Literally 'shall remain intact together with heaven and earth'. I have previously (Language 16 137 fn.49) called attention to the Akkadian parallel EA 29 58f.:
10,000^{meš}-ma [ša aḫu-ya ira'amu-] š ū ša ira'am-anni lū balit itti šamē ū erseti 'the myriad that loves my brother and that loves me shall stay alive with heaven and earth'.

must be envisaged that *-mma* possesses a shorter variant *-m*. The chances to demonstrate its existence cogently are slight. The most likely place to look for it are the Boğazköy texts which quite normally dispense with the final *-an*. Unfortunately they are either in a bad state of preservation or hardly intelligible. The difficulties are increased by the additional fact that in Boğazköy the particle *-ma* is likewise shortened to *-m*. In spite of these difficulties attention may be directed to a few passages that may prove pertinent:

KUB XXVII 38 III 4f.: *uš-šu-u-um wu_u-ru-uš-šu-e-en-nim* ^d*Te-eš[-šu-ub-bi]* *hu-u-bi-ti* ^d*Šar-ru-um-ma-an* "..... let him not Teššub's scion⁵⁰ Šarruma" There follow several sentences construed along similar lines, and finally (line 11) the parallel clauses: *zu-lu-u-tu-u-e-en ši-ir-ni-ib* "let them not thy " and *uš-šu-u-um wu_u-ru-še-e-nim* "..... let him" In the last sentence the transitive verb would be without object were it not concealed in the final *-m*; because of the possessive "thy" in the negative parallel, the chances are for "thee". If so, the first passage quoted here should contain the phrase "thee, Teššub's scion Šarruma".

KUB XXIX 8 II 29f.: *it-kal-zi-ni-bi-na-šu-uš it-ki-ta-an-nim i-ti-ib ši-i-e-na-šu-uš* "the waters of the *itkalzi*⁵¹ let for thee" This sentence starts the magical treatment accorded the sacrificer, and should, for this reason alone, contain a reference to him.

KUB XXIX 8 III 32ff.: ^d*He-bat* ^d*Mu-šu-un-ni-iš* *a-ru-ši-el-la-a-im i-ti-ib* "Hebat (and?) Mušunni should give them to thee for thy benefit".

Thus the statement is justified that *-mma* can indeed be understood in all the passages where it occurs as the pronoun of the second person singular. In a few passages this interpretation is not only suitable, but essential. It is hardly necessary to state that *-mma* fits the pattern of the other pronouns perfectly well.

Hurr. *tuppul-ewa* is an approximate equivalent of Akkadian *lū balit*. For the form cf. Speiser §192 and for the stem *tuppi-* 'stable, strong' see A. Ungnad, *Subartu* 160; Speiser, *JAOS* 59 299; Gelb-Purves-MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* 269.

50 See RHA 39 199 fn. 46.

51 See RHA 39 196 fn. 25.

VI

To sum up, then, it can be stated that the system of pronominal suffixes is to be reconstructed as follows:

	singular	plural
1st person	- <i>tta</i>	- <i>tilla</i>
2nd person	- <i>mma</i> , - <i>m</i>	?
3rd person	- <i>nna</i> , - <i>n</i>	- <i>lla</i>

The Etymology of Akk. *qātum* "hand"

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E. Dhorme was the first¹ to connect Akk. *qātum* "hand" etymologically with *leqūm* (<**laqāhum*) "take"; he explained the noun as a development of **qahtum*. The derivation seems to be supported by the existence in Hebrew of the verbal noun *qāhaθ* <**qahtu*. The etymology was repeated with virtually identical reasoning by A. Foebel² who was not aware of Dhorme's proposal.³ It is the purpose of this note to point to some difficulties not mentioned by either author which, in my opinion, make the etymology untenable.

(1) It is doubtful whether *qh* for *lqh* is already Semitic as the proposed etymology implies; the shorter form occurs only in Hebrew and in Ugaritic.⁴

1 *Revue Bibl.* 1923 192 *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps* (1923) 144.

2 *JAOS* 60 (1940) 95ff.

3 Dhorme called attention to the fact in *RA* 38 (1941) 89.

4 The orthodox view maintains that *qah* (imper.) etc. are due to the analogy of *tin* 'give' etc.; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grdr.* 1 293; Bauer-leander, *Hist. Gramm. der hebräischen Sprache* p. 365; G. Bergstraesser, *Hebr. Grammatik* 2 p. 124.

(2) The meaning of *lqḥ* is not "grasp" but "take", i.e. "seize so as to have". The resultative aspect is essential for the word.

(3) P^{Sem}. **qaḥtu* should yield in Akk. ***qettum*; cf. *rettum* "fist, paw"⁵ < **raḥtu* and *ruttum* "companion (f.)"⁶ < **ru^ctum*.

(4) The *t* of *qātum* is not necessarily suffixal. The plural *qātātum* favors the view that it forms part of the stem; but it must be admitted that the plural may well be secondary. On the other hand, the feminine gender of *qātum*⁷ may be on the same level as that of *idum* "hand, side".⁸

(5) Any etymology of *qātum* must take the variation of its construct into account, besides *qāt* x also *qāti* x is found.⁹ Nouns of the structure of P^{Sem}. **qaḥtu* exhibit in Akkadian invariably constructs of the type *qāt/qēt* (cf. *āl*, *nār*, *šim*, *šir*; *bēl*, *tēm*, *rēš*, *šēp*). The variation found with *qātum* places the noun in the group of *mārum*, *šābum*, *ḥitum*, *mīlum*; *zērum*, *šēlum*. In P^{Sem}. (**mar^u*, **šab^u*, **ḥit^u*, **mil^u*; **zar^cu*, **šil^cu*) these words are *qatl* or *qitl* forms with a laryngeal at the end. We must conclude, then, that Akk. *qātum* derives from **qat^um* or **qathum*.

5 Cf., e.g., LIH 8 27; UET 146 V 8; YBT II 78 23.

6 Cf. the proper name *Ru-ūt-tum* PBS VIII 240 4. — When P^{Sem}. **qaḥtu* is taken as the point of departure, one expects in Akk. ***qētum* (cf. *lētum* 'cheek' < **laḥtu*).

7 See, e.g., BIN VII 45 5; TCL VII 20 23; YBT II 151 24.

8 See YBT II 82 32.

9 Frequent in the phrase *qātum nasāhum* (see CT VIII 38c 23): VS IX 173 6ff., particularly in the expression *qāti* x *nashat*: CT IV 31b 6ff.; CT VIII 33a 11ff.; PBS VIII 207 10ff; 216 5f.; VS VII 98 7ff. Note *qātāt* x *nashat* PBS VIII 245 7ff. The cstr. *qāti* furthermore as nom. CT III 2ff. 33, 41; CT V 4ff. 1 = YBT X 58 1; VS XVI 144 8; as acc. BIN VII 173 20; YBT VIII 141 5; YBT X 39 16.

A Classification of the Eabylonian Astroncmical Tablets of the
Seleucid Period

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I. Summary

While hunting through the published astroncmical cuneiform texts of the Seleucid period for Sirius data, it occurred to me that there is need for a brief sketch of the types and contents of these scattered documents. Chiefly by exploiting the discovery made by Kugler, between 1907 (SSB I) and 1924 (SSB II, Part 2), of the correct interpretation of remarks like PAF NU IGI and ~~ki~~ PAF NU IGI, I have reached some general conclusions as to the types of items which are predicted elements in contrast to those which reflect observations. A somewhat startling result is that all classes of Seleucid astroncmical texts contain at least some predictions.¹

This investigation is strictly limited to texts of the Seleucid period. The few available texts of the New-Eabylonian and Persian periods present problems of their own. Though relations between some categories of astronomical texts from the three periods are undeniable, the paucity of the pre-Seleucid material makes it advisable to exclude it for the time being.

II. Provenance of the Texts

1. The British Museum texts which were copied five to seven decades ago by J.N. Strassmaier (and which were subsequently interpreted chiefly by J. Epping, F.X. Kugler, J. Schaumberger, and O. Neugebauer) come from Babylon.² For sixty years, the literature on the Seleucid astronomical tablets has repeated the statement that these texts come from Sippar. But the provenance expressly mentioned in published non-astronomical texts of

¹ For their kindness in sending me excellent photographs of tablets, I want to express my gratitude to Professors S. Kramer and F. Stephens.
² It is highly probable that some tablets of this group come from nearby Borsippa.

the same museum collections, the improved reading of the colophon of a Lunar Table which results in the elimination of the only alleged mention of Sippar in the astronomical texts themselves, the character of the few personal names which occur in the colophons, the deities mentioned in the introductory invocations — all point to Babylon.³ Other museums which contain astronomical texts from the same Seleucid archive are: the Berlin Museum (lower VAT numbers), the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University Library (New York),^{Metropolitan Museum (N.Y.),} Smith College (Northampton, Mass.), Dropsie College (Philadelphia, Pa.), and probably Leiden (Eöhl Collection).

2. The only other known archive of Seleucid astronomical tablets comes from Uruk. This archive began to appear on the market around 1910. Its provenance is beyond question since quite a few of the texts were actually found at Uruk by the official German excavators, and many of the other tablets have colophons mentioning Uruk as the place where the tablets were written. Tablets from this archive are to be found in the Louvre, the Berliner Museen (higher VAT numbers), the Morgan Library Collection (deposited in the Yale Babylonian Collection), the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and Eski Şark eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.

III. Astronomical Tables

3. From the viewpoint of the history of the exact sciences, the most important group of Seleucid astronomical tablets consists of texts containing columns of numbers — occasionally relieved by the appearance of technical astronomical terms and logograms for zodiacal signs and months — which represent the systematic computation of certain lunar and planetary phenomena. A general impression of the external features of texts of this group can be gathered by consulting F.X. Kugler, *Die babylonische Mondrechnung*

3 Strassmaier, who was the first to propose Sippar as the provenance of this archive, says (in Epping, AB p.6) that Rassam found similar astronomical texts while excavating at Sippar. So far as I can see, this remark does not apply to texts found by Rassam at Sippar but, at most, to Babylon texts which Rassam sent to the British Museum. It is possible that Strassmaier was at the time under some misapprehension about the source of some of the British Museum tablets or collections. Thus, in Epping, AB p. 21f., lunar data for the year 188 of the Seleucid Era are extracted from a text about which the following remark appears on p. 22: 'Das Original der vorstehenden Tafel befindet sich in der Rassam-Sammlung des Britischen Museums und wurde von P. Strassmaier am 25. Juni 1879 copiert. Leider konnte es jetzt nicht nochmals collationiert werden, weil die Numerierung unterblieben war und so die Auffindung nicht gelang.' Actually, however, the very same text was later published — from a later Strassmaier copy, presumably — and it turns out that it consists of four pieces from two Spaltoli collections: Sp. 175 + Sp. II 777 + 782 + 61 (cf. SSB II 532f.; Erg. III 371ff. and Taf. XI f.)! To my knowledge, no Seleucid astronomical text that can be shown to have come

(1900), Taf. I-IV, VII-IX and F. Thureau-Dangin, TCL 6, Nos. 22-30. In the remainder of this paper, such texts will be referred to as Lunar Tables and Planetary Tables or, when the group as a whole is considered, Astronomical Tables. Intimately related with the Astronomical Tables are procedure texts which state the parameters and arithmetical rules used in the calculation of the various columns of numbers found in the Astronomical Tables.

4. It would be pointless to attempt to describe here the different categories of Astronomical Tables since all the available texts of this sort will soon be published by C. Neugebauer under the title Astronomical Cuneiform Texts. For our present purposes, it suffices to list the phenomena of the moon, sun, and planets which are computed.

5. Moon: (a) Full and hollow months, i.e., months which contain 30 days or 29 — with indications, in either case, of the time between sunset and the setting of the first lunar crescent.

(b) Lunar eclipses (visible and invisible) and solar eclipses (possible and impossible), the moment of opposition or conjunction, the longitude of the eclipsed body at that moment, and the magnitude of the eclipse.

(c) The dates (around the middle of the month) and

(1) the time between the rising of the moon and sunset when the moon rose for the last time before sunset;

(2) the time between sunset and the rising of the moon when the moon rose for the first time after sunset;

(3) the time between the setting of the moon and sunrise when the moon set for the last time before sunrise;

(4) the time between sunrise and the setting of the moon when the moon set for the first time after sunrise.

These phenomena are characterized as (1) ME, (2) GE₆, (3) ŠÚ, and (4) na in the texts.

(d) The date (near the end of the month) when the moon was visible for the last time and the time interval between the rising of the lunar crescent and sunrise.

from Sippar has ever been published or mentioned in the literature. Strictly speaking, Pliny's famous statement about Hipparenum (even under the assumption that Hipparenum=Sippar) is therefore now without direct support from the cuneiform sources,

5a. Sun: Aside from the solar data contained in the Lunar Tables, there exists a table which computes summer solstices.

6. Mercury: dates and longitudes (indicated by degrees and fractions of degrees of of a zodiacal sign) for

(Γ) first rising in the morning;

(Σ) last setting in the morning;

(Ξ) first rising in the evening;

(Ω) last setting in the evening.

7. Venus: dates and longitudes for

(Γ) first rising in the morning;

(Φ) stationary point in the morning;

(Σ) last setting in the morning;

(Ξ) first rising in the evening;

(Ψ) stationary point in the evening;

(Ω) last setting in the evening.

8. Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn: dates and longitudes for

(Γ) first rising in the morning;

(Φ) first stationary point;

(Θ) "opposition";

(Ψ) second stationary point;

(Ω) last setting in the evening.

9. Daily motion of planets (not preserved for all planets at present).

10. The capital Greek letters in § 6-8, which I will henceforth use in referring to the corresponding planetary phenomena, conform to the convenient terminology introduced by O. Neugebauer in his forthcoming Astronomical Cuneiform Texts. I use the expression Greek-Letter Phenomena when referring to all these planetary phenomena as a group.

11. It is of interest to note that the Astronomical Tables for the moon and for most of the planets reveal the use of two different systems of computation, not to mention the existence of subsystems, or lesser differences like the occasional use of abbreviated parameters and the cutting of numerical results. This means in effect that if one asks for the longitude and date computed by the Planetary Tables for a given year for Γ of Jupiter in a given year, there is no unique answer, since the different systems and subsystems for the computation of Jupiter phenomena can lead to different results.

As a matter of fact there is good evidence for the existence of subsystems of computation which are not reflected in the Planetary Tables which happen to be at our disposal.

IV. Non-Tabular Astronomical Texts

12. We now pass to the discussion of the Seleucid astronomical texts which are not Astronomical Tables. For the sake of bibliographical convenience, the 41 texts available to me are listed as Nos. [1] to [37] in the accompanying Table I. To my knowledge, only 33 of the texts have been published; for the remaining eight, I have used photographs or my own transcriptions. The texts are arranged in alphabetical and numerical order according to the museum inventory markings. From now on, I will refer to these documents by the bracketed numbers [1] to [37].

TABLE I

[1]	A 3405	Unpublished.
[2]	A 3456	Unpublished.
	BM 92689	See [37].
[3]	CBS 17	For a partial translation of CBS 17, then known as No. 9,21-7-88 of Jos. Shemtob Collection of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, see Epping & Strassmaier, ZA 6 (1891) 217ff.
[3a]	Columbia Univ. Libr. 6x	Copy: Goetze, JCS 1 (1947) 349.
[4]	Leiden 1332	Unpublished.
[4a]	MLC 1860	Unpublished.
[4b]	MLC 1885	Unpublished.
[4c]	MLC 2195	Unpublished.
[5]	Rm. 678	Epping & Strassmaier, ZA 5 (1890) 353ff. Copy: ZA 6 (1891)
[6]	Rm. 710	Copy: Epping & Strassmaier, ZA 6 (1891) 235. 229ff.
[7]	Rm. 845	Copy: Epping & Strassmaier, ZA 6 (1891) 232.
	Rm. IV 189	See [18].
[8]	Rm. IV 342; 348	SSB II 505f. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. VIII f.
[9]	Rm. IV 356	SSB I 104ff. Copy: SSB I, Taf. IX.
[10]	Rm. IV 397	Epping & Strassmaier, ZA 7 (1892) 236ff. Copy: ZA 6 (1891)
[11]	Rm. IV 435	SSB I 92ff.; II 481ff. Copy: SSB I, Taf. VII. 236ff.
[12]	S ⁺ 76-11-17,1881	Kugler & Schaumberger, <i>Orientalia</i> N.S. 2 (1933) 100ff.; Schaumberger, <i>Analecta Orientalia</i> 6 (1933) 2ff. Copy: <i>Orientalia</i> N.S. 2 113ff.
[13]	S ⁺ 76-11-17,1949	Epping & Strassmaier, ZA 6 (1891) 89ff. Copy: ZA 6 (1891) 231ff.
[14]	S ⁺ 76-11-17,2014	Kugler & Schaumberger, <i>Orientalia</i> N.S. 2 (1933) 105ff.; Schaumberger, <i>Analecta Orientalia</i> 6 (1933) 5f. Copy: <i>Orientalia</i> N.S. 2 114f.
[15]	SH. 81-6-25,214	SSB I 90f. Copy: SSB I, Taf. VII.

[16]	SH. 81-7-6,101	SSB II 531f.; Erg. III 368ff. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. X.
	SH. 81-7-6,103	See [17].
[17]	SH. 81-7-6,492; Sp. II 212; SH. 81-7-6,103	SSB II 470ff.; Erg. III 359ff. Copies: Erg. III, Taf. If.
[18]	SH. [] 392; 467; Rm. IV 189; Sp. II 152+150	SSB II 486ff.; Erg. III 361f. Copies: Erg. III, Taf. IIIff.
[19]	Sp. 128	AB 160ff. Copy: AB, Pl. 4ff.
[20]	Sp. 129	AB 152ff. Copy: AB, Pl. 1ff.
	Sp. 138	See [34].
[21]	Sp. 147	SSB I 96ff.; II 496ff. Copy: SSB I, Taf. VIII.
[22]	Sp. 173+221	SSB II 533f.; Erg. III 374. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. XIIIff.
[23]	Sp. 175 + Sp. II 777+782+61	SSB II 532f.; Erg. III 371ff. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. XIff.
[24]	Sp. 178	SSB I 88f. No copy published.
	Sp. 221	See [22].
[25]	Sp. 223	SSB II 494f.; Erg. III 362f. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. V.
[26]	Sp. 338	SSB II 492f.; Erg. III 363. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. VI.
[27]	Sp. 460	SSB II 507ff.; Erg. III 365. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. VII.
[28]	Sp. II 51	SSB I 84ff. Copy (only obverse): SSB I, Taf. V.
	Sp. II 61	See [23].
[29]	Sp. II 106+112	Kugler & Schaumberger, <i>Orientalia</i> N.S. 2 (1933) 107ff.; Schaumberger, <i>Analecta Orientalia</i> 6 (1933) 6ff. Copy: <i>Orientalia</i> N.S. 2, 114f.
[30]	Sp. II 142; 795; VAT 290+1836	Schnabel, <i>ZA</i> 36 (1925) 66ff. (only VAT 290+1836); Schaumberger, <i>Analecta Orientalia</i> 12 (1935) 279ff.; <i>Biblica</i> 23 (1943) 162ff. Copy of Sp. II 142: <i>An. Or.</i> 12, 281.
	Sp. II 150+152	See [18].
	Sp. II 212	See [17].
[31]	Sp. II 250+353	SSB I 100ff. Copy: SSB I, Taf. VI.
[32]	Sp. II 469	SSB II 498f.; Erg. III 365. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. VII.
	Sp. II 515	See [34].
[33]	Sp. II 567; 699	SSB II 499ff.; Erg. III 365. Copies: Erg. III, Taf. VI; copy of Sp. II 567: Strassmaier, <i>ZA</i> 3 (1888) 143.
	Sp. II 777; 782	See [23].
	Sp. II 795	See [30].
[34]	Sp. II 909+515; Sp. 138	SSB II 502ff.; Erg. III 366f. Copy: Erg. III, Taf. VIIIff.
[35]	U. 180(3)+193a+193b	Unpublished.
[36]	U. 194	Unpublished.
	VAT 290+1836	See [30].
[37]	82-7-4,137 + 88-4 -19,17 (now BM 92689)	Epping & Strassmaier, <i>ZA</i> 7 (1892) 226ff. Copy: <i>ZA</i> 6 (1891) 234ff.; new copy of non-astronomical part only: S. Smith, <i>Bab. Hist. Texts</i> (London, 1924), Pl. XVIII.

13. These texts fall into four main categories. A major problem in connection with all four categories is to determine the items which are predictions in contrast to those which register observations. In approaching this problem, I first present a formal analysis of the contents of the four types of non-tabular astronomical texts.

V. Almanacs

14. The first category I call Almanacs.⁴ The accompanying Table II shows the types of items which are included in the 14 available Almanacs. All but one of the Al-

Text	Date (Seleucid Era)	Lunar Three	Planetary Phenomena	Zodiacal Entrances	Planetary Positions at Beginning of Month	Solstices & Equinoxes	Serius	Eclipses, Yes & No	Colephon
[26]	128	+	+	+	+	[]	[]	+	[]
[11]	129	+	+	+	No	+	+	+	+
[4c]	147	+	+	+	No	+	+	+	!!
[25]	158	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[]
[27]	160	+	+	+	+	[]	[]	+	[]
[21]	178	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[]
[32]	185	+	+	+	+	+	[]	+	[]
[34]	209	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[33]	220	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[18]	234	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[17]	236	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[9]	301	+	+	+	+	+	No	+	[]
[8]	303	+	+	+	+	+	[]	[]	[]
[30]	305	+	+	+	+	+	No	+	[]

TABLE II

manacs belong to the Eabylon archive; [4c] comes from Uruk. The bracketed numbers in the first column (heading: Text) refer to the tablets by the running numbers assigned them in Table I, where the pertinent bibliographical data are registered.

15. Each Almanac refers to a single Eabylonian year (beginning Nisannu 1), which is listed in the second column (marked "Date") according to the Seleucid Era.⁵ The

4 I use this term in an effort to avoid the ambiguity of the designation 'ephemerides', which has been used by Epping, Kugler, and others to refer to texts of this category but which O. Neugebauer has been using for what I call Astronomical Tables (cf. above, § 3-9). Kugler SSB II 465 called the Almanacs 'ephemerides of class II'.

5 To get the corresponding B.C. year, subtract the Seleucid Era number from 312. The resulting number is the first of the two B.C. years in which the single Babylonian year falls.

dates are mentioned in the colophons. Where the colophon happens to be broken away, the date can be computed on the basis of the preserved astronomical and calendaric data.

In the remaining columns of this as well as the following tables, the symbol + means that the text contains information of the type indicated by the heading of the column, brackets [] mean that the text is not preserved where the information might have been registered, and the word "No" indicates that the information was omitted.

16. Every Almanac is divided into 12 or 13 paragraphs, each of which refers to a single Babylonian month. A paragraph begins with the name of the month followed by the number 30 or the number 1. The number 30 means that the previous month contained only 29 days, the number 1 that the preceding month was 30 days long. At the proper place, every paragraph also contains the date (around the middle of the month) of a lunar phenomenon called *na*. This means that on that day the moon set for the first time after sunrise; cf. §5,(o),(4). Each paragraph, finally, contains a date (towards the end of the month) for a phenomenon called KUR, which refers to the last visibility of the moon; ^{cf.} §5,(d). These three lunar phenomena (1 or 30, *na*, and KUR) I call the Lunar Three, the heading of the third column.

17. The next column, marked Planetary Phenomena, indicates that the Almanacs include dates and the sign of the zodiac for the Greek-Letter Phenomena (defined §10) with the following exceptions: ϕ and Ψ of Venus are never mentioned, and θ of the outer planets mentions only the date, never the zodiacal sign.

18. A feature common to all Almanacs is the registration of Zodiacal Entrances (the heading of the fifth column) of all the planets. The date is given when a planet enters (technical term: KUR or KUR-*ád*, a form of the Babylonian verb *kšd*, "to reach") a new zodiacal sign, the planet's motion being either forward or retrograde.

19. Each paragraph, directly after the information about the length of the preceding month (§10), mentions the Planetary Positions at the Beginning of the Month (heading of the sixth column). This is done by reference to the zodiacal signs only. If a planet happened to be going through a period of invisibility at the time (i.e., after Σ and after Ω), the planet and its zodiacal position are omitted.

20. In giving the planetary positions at the beginning of each month, the Almanacs mention the planets according to the strict protocol of the Seleucid period: Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, and Mars. The order is frequently interfered with, but only according to another rule: when more than one planet is in the same zodiacal sign, the combin-

ed statement is made at the place of the planet with higher priority. The rule is observed so scrupulously⁶ that grave suspicion is aroused when a restoration violates it (for example, Kugler, SSB II, p. 509).

21. As Table II shows, two Almanacs consistently omit information concerning planetary positions at the beginning of the month. One of the two texts, [4c], belongs to the Uruk archive, as is proved, e.g., by the final line of the colophon: *ša^{Id}anu(DIŠ)-balāṭ(TIN)-su-iqbi(Ḫ) māṛ(A) I lā-bašī(UK)*. As we shall see, it also deviates from all the other Almanacs — which come from the Babylonian archive — in the colophon-title which it bears. It is difficult, however, to suppose that the inclusion or omission of planetary positions at the beginning of the month might reflect a local difference between Babylon and Uruk Almanacs since [11], a Babylonian Almanac, also omits this information.

22. The Almanacs also contain the dates of the Solstices and Equinoxes (seventh column of Table II).

23. The Almanacs, except for two of the very latest ones, contain the dates of the following three phenomena of the star Sirius (column eight in Table II): last visible evening setting, first visible morning rising, and last visible evening rising.

24. All Almanacs contain data about lunar and solar eclipses. The date and often the time of day or night are given. When the time falls in the proper portion of the day, an eclipse is predicted in the case of a lunar eclipse, and, for a solar eclipse, the statement *aná(DIŠ) PAF* (probably *našāri*), "to be watched for", is made. In the case of a predicted lunar eclipse, sometimes the magnitude of the eclipse is given, as a simple fraction of the *ḪAB* or *ḪAB-rat*, "disk". When the given time of day or night is wrong for an eclipse, the "passing by" (technical term: *DIB*, probably to be read *ittiq*) of the eclipse is predicted. The same prediction of non-occurrence of an eclipse is made when the preceding eclipse fell only 2 or 5 months before; the reason is usually mentioned. The ninth column of Table II, with the heading *Eclipses, Yes and No*, tabulates the occurrence of eclipse data in the Almanacs. Text [4c], the only available Almanac from Uruk, also mentions the sign of the zodiac in which a predicted eclipse will take place. The Almanacs from Babylon never give this information.

25. The colophons of the Almanacs from Babylon read: *meš-ḫi šá KUR-ád^{pl} šá dUDU-IDIM^{pl} šá MU ...*, literally, "measurements of the reachings of the planets of year so-

⁶ The only exception I have noted is in the section for month V in [9], where the expected order Saturn-Mars is reversed.

and-so", in which the "reachings" refer to the items about the zodiacal entrances of the planets (§18), which use the same verb *kšd*. The existence of such colophons is indicated in the last column of Table II. In [4c], the Uruk Almanac which has already been mentioned more than once for the deviations it shows from the Eabylon patterns, the colophon reads simply *meš-hi šá MU* ..., "measurements of year so-and-so". This, unpleasantly enough, happens to be the regular title which appears in the colophons of another category of non-tabular astronomical texts, which I call NS Almanacs (cf. §33). There seems to be little chance that the colophon-title of Almanac [4c] is an Uruk peculiarity since the colophon-titles of two NS Almanacs from Uruk, [4a] and [35], happen to be completely preserved and they are normal for NS Almanacs. To add to the confusion, all the NS Almanacs from Uruk contain information concerning the planets' entering different signs of the zodiac, but no NS Almanac from Eabylon contains this information. On the other hand, it is precisely the Zodiacal Entrances which the Eabylon Almanacs consider sufficiently characteristic to mention them in their colophon-titles. Only the discovery of more Almanacs from the Uruk archive can tell us whether the Uruk Almanacs and NS Almanacs really had the same title as a rule. In the meantime, I have entered a double exclamation mark in the last column of Table II opposite Almanac [4c].

26. The occasional appearance in Almanacs of information for other fixed stars similar to that given for Sirius (§29) has not been noted in Table II because the evidence is much too spotty. Scattered data of this sort can be found in [4c], [9], [17], [27], [33] (uncertain), and [34]; they refer particularly to the stars MÚL-MÚL and MÚL-NUN-KI.

27. In Table II, I have omitted an unpublished Eabylon text in Dropsie College (Philadelphia, Pa.) which really belongs there. The tablet is not completely preserved; the colophon is broken away, but the introductory invocation on the upper edge reads [*ina a-]mat ^dbēl(EN) u ^dbēlti(GAŠAN)-ia liš-lim*, the standard Eabylon formula. The preserved items are: Lunar Three, Planetary Phenomena, Zodiacal Entrances, and Planetary Positions at the Beginning of Month. It is a peculiarity of this text from Eabylon that the logogram for Mercury is regularly abbreviated to GU₄ and that for Jupiter is consistently abbreviated to EAEBAR except in its first occurrence, where it appears as the conventional MÚL-EABBAR. I am unable to date this text because the data for the outer planets (Saturn and Jupiter in Sagittarius in the first part of the year, in Capricornus toward year's end) are apparently in disorder since, so far as I can see, they ^{seem to} preclude a dating in the first 350 years of the Seleucid Era. I quote these positions from a transcription but am unable to collate the text at present.

VI. NS Almanacs

28. The second category of non-tabular astronomical texts — which I call NS Almanacs — are closely related to the Almanacs. Table III lists the types of astronomical data contained in NS Almanacs. Texts [4a], [4b], [35], and [36] are from the Uruk ar-

Text	Date (Seleucid Era)	Lunar		Planetary Phenomena	Planets & Normal Stars	Solstices & Equinoxes	Sirius	Eclipses, Yes & No	Colophon
		Three	Six						
[4a]	82	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
[3a]	96	+*		+	+	+	+	[]	[]
[24]	104	[]	[]	+	+	[]	[]	+	[]
[16]	111	+*		+	+	+	+	+	[#]
[15]	120	[]	[]	+	+	+	[]	+	[]
[4b]	133	+		+	+	+	+	+	[]
[35]	150	+		+	+	+	[]	[]	+
[36]	151	[]	[]	+	+	+	+	+	[]
[22]	172		+	+	+	[]	+	+	+
[23]	188		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[20]	189		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[31]	194		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[19]	201		+	+	+	+	+	+	+

TABLE III

chive, all the rest come from Babylon. The first two columns of Table III again specify the individual texts and their dates (cf. §14-15). Like the Almanacs, each NS Almanac is divided into 12 or 13 sections, one for each month.

29. The NS Almanacs fall into two subgroups on the basis of the data tabulated in the third column of Table III (heading: Lunar Three and Lunar Six). The earlier subgroup, as was noted by Kugler,⁷ furnishes data about the Lunar Three (defined in §16 for the Almanacs). The later subgroup contains items about six lunar phenomena, three of which are the Lunar Three of the earlier subgroup. The additional three phenomena take place around the middle of the month, and are characterized as ŠÚ, ME, and GE₃; for the meaning of these terms, see §5,(c). The Lunar Six data mention not only the date but the time as well. All the available NS Almanacs, except for the two designated by an asterisk in the third column of Table III, register these lunar phenomena in a vertical column next to the left-hand edge of the tablet and opposite the relevant monthly section.

⁷ SSB II 465, where he designated the two subgroups as 'ephemerides of class Ia' and 'ephemerides of class Ib'.

30. The Planetary Phenomena of the fourth column in Table III are the same as those described in §17 in connection with the Almanacs.

31. The next column, headed Planets and Normal Stars, refers to information which never appears in ordinary Almanacs. "Normal Stars" is a term introduced by Epping to refer to a group of fixed stars scattered around the ecliptical belt, more than thirty in number. For a list of these Normal Stars, see, e.g., Kugler, SSE II, p. 550f. The NS Almanacs (NS being an abbreviation for Normal Stars) register the dates when the various planets pass by, above or below, the various Normal Stars and the distance between planet and Normal Star measured in KÜŠ (= *ammatu*) "cubit" and SI or U (both = *ubānu*) "finger(breadth)".⁸

32. The next three columns of Table III (Solstices and Equinoxes; Sirius; Eclipses, Yes and No) refer to exactly the same kinds of data found in the Almanacs and described above in §22-24.

33. The colophons of the NS Almanacs (last column in Table III) have already been mentioned in §25 in connection with an abnormal colophon found in an Almanac from Uruk. The titles in the colophons of NS Almanacs are quite simple: *meš-ḫi šá MU* ..., literally, "measurements of the year so-and-so".

34. Unlike the Almanacs, the NS Almanacs from Eabylon do not contain any data covering the planetary entrances into different signs of the zodiac and do not mention the planetary positions at the beginning of a month. The fact that all the Uruk NS Almanacs ([4a], [4b], [35], and [36]) contain information about planetary entrances into new signs of the zodiac has already been noted in §25.

VII. Goal-Year Texts

35. The third category of non-tabular astronomical texts — which I call Goal-Year Texts⁹ — presents raw materials for the prediction of planetary and lunar phenomena for a given year, which I will henceforth call the "goal year". The paragraph division of the Goal-Year Texts is according to planet (or moon). Each section refers to the phenomena of its subject one period preceding the goal year. Thus, the first section refers to Jupiter phenomena of a year which preceded the goal year by 71 years (a Jupiter period) and the last section contains information about lunar phenomena 18 years (a lunar

⁸ For a discussion of these measures, see Kugler SSB II 547ff., according to whom one cubit is either 2° or 2½°, a fingerbreadth 5' in either case. This subject should be reinvestigated.

⁹ These are referred to as 'Planetarische Hilfstafeln' by Epping, Kugler, etc.

period) before the goal year. It is obvious from this, as Epping was the first to discover, that the Eabylonians were aware that a planet returned approximately to the same position and its characteristic appearances after the lapse of the relevant period of years.

36. Table IV outlines the contents of the various sections of the Goal-Year Texts.

Text	Goal Year (SE)	Jupiter (-71 years)		Jupiter (-83 years)		Venus (-8 years)		Mercury (-46 years)		Saturn (-59 years)		Mars (-79 years)		Mars (-47 years)		Moon (-18 years)		Colophon
		Plan. Phen.	NS	Plan. Phen.	NS	Plan. Phen.	NS	Plan. Phen.	NS	Plan. Phen.	NS	Plan. Phen.	NS	Plan. Phen.	NS	Eclipses	Lunar Six	
[12]	81	+	+	No	No	+	+	+	+	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	+	+*	[]
[14]	90	+	[]	[]	+	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	+	+*	+
[29]	91	[]	[]	[]	[]	?	+	+*	+	+	?	[]	+	?	+	[]	+*	[]
[13]	118	[]	[]	[]	[]	+*	+	+*	+	+*	+	[]	[]	[]	+	+	+*	[]
[28]	140	+	[]	[]	+	+*	+	+*	+	+*	+	+	+	[]	+	Unpublished		
[3]	225	?	+	No	+	+*	+	+*	+	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	+	+*	+
[5]	236	No	+	?	+	+*	+	+*	+	+*	+	+	+	[]	+	No	No	[]

TABLE IV

In the column headings, the parenthetical "(- n years)" directly below the name of the planet refers to the planetary phenomena n years preceding the goal year. There are two Jupiter sections (one for $n = 83$ years) and two for Mars ($n = 79$ and $n = 47$); the other planets and the moon are represented by a single section each. The arrangement of the sections follows the rigid hierarchy of the Seleucid period which has been mentioned in §20: Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, and Mars.

37. Contained in the planetary sections of the Goal-Year Texts are two different types of information, which I indicate by Plan. Phen. and NS in the subheadings of Table IV. The former refers to the Planetary Phenomena which are also contained in the Almanacs (§17) and the NS Almanacs (§30), namely, the dates and zodiacal signs for the Greek-Letter Phenomena (defined in §10) with the same neglect of Φ and Ψ of Venus and the same omission of the zodiacal sign with θ of the outer planets. The subheading "NS" refers to information concerning the distance between planets and Normal Stars — information of the type contained in NS Almanacs (cf. §31).

38. The lunar section of a Goal-Year Text (next to the last column in Table IV) furnishes eclipse data of the kinds which we have already mentioned in connection with the Almanacs (§24) and the NS Almanacs (§32). The same section also contains the Lunar Six month by month — the same Lunar Six which we have noted in some of the NS Almanacs (§29).

39. In saying that the planetary and lunar data are precisely the kinds which were listed in the Almanacs and NS Almanacs, only part of the story is told. For, unlike the almanacs, which never contain a single observational remark about bad weather having prevented observation or about the occurrence of the phenomena on a different date, the Goal-Year-Texts often do contain supplementary observational remarks. Among such remarks, particular mention should be made of those which read NU PAF ("not watched for"¹⁰); DIR NU PAF ("cloudy; not watched for"); TA *x ki* PAF NU IGI ("from day *x* on, when watched for, (it) was not seen"); etc. Before the publication of SSE II, Part 2 (1924), where Kugler announced (p. 539) the correct interpretation of PAF as *nsr*, all these remarks were completely misunderstood in the literature. Observational remarks of these sorts may follow the statement of Planetary Phenomena (§37); the first two may follow the statement of the lunar phenomena (§38). With the Lunar Six, we also find A-KÁM ("fog, mist", according to Kugler, SSE II 539f.) instead of DIR in the observational remarks. For other observational expressions which occur with lunar phenomena, cf. Kugler, SSE II 538ff. Observational remarks always occur with predicted or possible eclipses.

40. Another type of observational remark which occurs with Planetary Phenomena (§37) is: *x na(-su) in y* IGI, "*x* 'minutes' being the duration of visibility [here I tentatively follow the usual translation given], the phenomenon occurred on day *y*", where *y* is not the number which had been given just before for the Planetary Phenomenon. Occasionally, not associated with a Planetary Phenomenon, the *na* is given for the planet on some day that appears to have no particular importance.

41. In Table IV, an asterisk indicates the presence of observational remarks of any sort in connection with the information indicated in the headings of the single columns. As can be seen, observational remarks are apparently never mentioned in the Jupiter and Mars sections.

42. In the case of the outer planets, the information concerning the distance between planet and Normal Star is often combined with a remark indicating whether the planet was retrograde or stationary.

43. The last column of Table IV records the existence of the colophon-titles of the Goal-Year Texts. The titles read: U₄-1-KÁM IGI(-DU₈-A)^{P1} DIB(-qa)^{F1} u AN-MI^{P1} šá aná(DIŠ) MU *x kun-nu(-u²)*, "the first day, appearances, passings, and eclipses which

¹⁰ Since only the logograms NU PAF are written in these expressions, one may with equal justice translate 'we did not watch (for it)' or the like.

have been established for the year x ", where x is the goal year. For the variants of this title, see Kugler, SSB I, p. 19. The various items mentioned in the colophon-titles I take to refer to the Lunar Six, the Planetary Phenomena, the measurements of distances between planets and Normal Stars, and eclipses, respectively.

44. Though Table IV lists only seven Goal-Year Texts — all from Babylon, incidentally — more than twice that number have been mentioned in the presentation of evidence for the Seleucid and Arsacid calendar and chronology by Strassmaier, Epping, and Kugler. Not included in Table IV is DT 207, which is described in Eezold, Catalogue. It is a very small fragment, and, according to a photograph, it is apparently part of a Goal-Year Text with the end of the Venus section preserved. The next line, the last that can be read, gives a date, presumably for the next section, which should be Mercury, of 210 Seleucid Era. This would mean that the goal year is 256 S.E.

45. Goal-Year Text [5] presents certain deviations from the usual pattern. The lunar section is omitted altogether. The first of the two Jupiter sections appears at the end of the tablet instead of the beginning. The Venus section indicates whether each month had 29 or 30 days and gives the dates for Venus's entrances into different zodiacal signs. The Mercury section gives the dates when Mercury entered zodiacal signs but says nothing about the length of any month. Goal-Year Text [12], the earliest now available, has the lunar section preceding the planetary sections instead of following them.

VIII. Diaries

46. The last major category of non-tabular astronomical texts I call Diaries¹¹. So few have been published or are otherwise available to me and the items which they contain are so numerous that I dispense with a table in discussing this class of texts. The tablets involved are [4] (for 221 S.E.), [6] (223 S.E.), [7] (some year between 221 and 231 S.E.), [10] (79 S.E.), and [37] (38 S.E.) — all from Babylon¹² — and Istanbul U. 192, which is a minute, undated fragment. Another small, undated fragment, from Babylon, Sp. 337, has been published SSE I, Taf. XXIII, Nr. 27. The Diaries generally cover either the first or the last half of a specific Babylonian year. Each section begins with a new month, and the bulk of each section is devoted to the almost day-by-day

¹¹ Kugler referred to them as *Mondbeobachtungstafeln* or simply *Beobachtungstafeln*.

¹² Text [4], an unpublished Leiden text, is described by F.M. Th. Böhl, *Med. uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-Inscriptions III* (= *Med. der Kon. Ak. van Wet., Afd. Lett. Deel 82, Serie B, No. 2, 1936*) p. 67 as coming from Uruk, but the unusually late date virtually excludes this provenance.

recording of astronomical and meteorological phenomena.

47. The Diaries contain information about a number of subjects which are never treated in the other categories of astronomical texts. The moon's position with respect to the normal Stars, e.g., is given in great detail. Also extensively indicated are all sorts of meteorological data, like clouds of various sorts, rainbows, etc., and there are a number of common meteorological terms which have not yet been translated with any degree of certainty. Between the moon's rapidly changing position and the shifting of meteorological conditions, items of these two sorts account for the vast majority of the contents of the Diaries in bulk.

48. The entries in the Diaries for lunar and planetary phenomena are otherwise, so far as the available specimens permit a judgment, of precisely the same types as those found in the various sections of the Goal-Year Texts (§37-42), including the observational remarks noted there. In addition, the Diaries contain the same kinds of entries for solstices and equinoxes and the Sirius phenomena as are encountered in the Almanacs and the NS Almanacs. At the end of each monthly section, after the items for the last day of the month, there appear several groups of statements concerning:

- a. The prices of barley, dates, cassia, *sahlū*, sesame, and wool for that month. When prices fluctuated during the month, that fact is indicated.
- b. The signs of the zodiac in which the five planets were at the time.
- c. The varying height of the river level during the month. The exact meaning of some of the terminology used here remains to be established.
- d. Noteworthy political and other secular or temple happenings.

50. The colophon-titles of the Diaries read as follows: EN-NUN *šá gi-né-e šá* TA *x* MU-*y*-KÁM EN TIL *z* MU-*y*-KÁM, "regular(?) watch(?) which (covers the period) from month *x* of year *y* to the end of month *z* of year *y*".

IX. Isolated Texts

51. There are two unpublished Uruk texts, [1] and [2], which do not fit into any of the four categories of non-tabular texts described above. It remains to be seen whether similar texts will turn up among the unpublished Babylon material. Text [1] covers astronomical phenomena for the years 6C-70 S.E., though it seems likely from what can be read of the colophon that the text was written about 50 years later. The sections are arranged year by year, subsections month by month. Within this framework, on the relevant days of the month, there appear the following entries:

- a. The Planetary Phenomena described in §6-10 but — in contrast to similar information in all four of the major categories of non-tabular texts described above — they are accompanied by the mention of the exact degree within the zodiacal sign.
- b. Lunar eclipses with indications of the moment of opposition, the longitude, the eclipse magnitude, and the type of node. In mentioning the type of node and in giving the exact degree within the zodiacal sign for the longitude, the eclipse items deviate from those found in the four main types of non-tabular astronomical documents.

No other information whatsoever is given. The logograms for Mercury and Jupiter are given in the abbreviated forms GU₄ and EAEBAR, which are otherwise exceedingly rare.

52. The other tablet which does not conform to any of the well-known types is text [2], covering the years 116-132 S.E. The sections, here too, are arranged by year. Except for the dates of solstices and equinoxes, no data are given for anything but Mercury (abbreviated GU₄, as in the previous text). The Mercury information is precisely of the character of that given in the planetary sections of the Goal-Year Texts (§37-40).

X. Predicted Elements and their Source

53. Of the four types of non-tabular astronomical texts, the Almanacs and the NS Almanacs have been considered predictive in character by all scholars working in the field. This judgment is supported by many bits of evidence: no entries are ever missing because of meteorological disturbance; the mention of possible solar eclipses which are to be watched for; the indication of the time of daylight when a lunar eclipse will not be visible; the relationship between the dates given for solstices and equinoxes, the schematic character of which has been exposed by O. Neugebauer in this volume of JCS, p. 209ff.; etc.

The Diaries, which, it is true, are obviously predominantly observational in character, nevertheless contain a number of predicted data, specifically for the Lunar Six, eclipses, solstices and equinoxes, and Planetary Phenomena, which give the dates for these phenomena but then frequently add remarks about their not having been watched for or their not having been visible or their having taken place on a different day.

54. We are faced with an embarrassment of riches when we consider the possible source of these predictions. We have, on the one hand, the mathematical Astronomical

Tables (§3-11) which are capable of predicting everything except (a) the dates and distances between the planets and the Normal Stars and (b) the dates of the Sirius (and other fixed-star) phenomena, though there is good reason to assume the existence of at least a simplified scheme for (b). On the other hand, we have the Goal-Year Texts, which contain the raw materials for all the predictions except (a) the Sirius phenomena, (b) the solstices and equinoxes, and (c) some of the lunar eclipses whose invisibility is predicted (cf. the case cited by Schaumberger, *An.Or.* 12 (1935) 288). Epping and Kugler (cf., e.g., *SSE II*, p. 535) maintained that the Goal-Year Texts are the source of the predictions found in the Almanacs and the NS Almanacs. The reason for this is doubtless the fact that the predictions involving the Normal Stars in the NS Almanacs could not possibly have been made on the basis of the Planetary Tables and hence must have been based on the Goal-Year Texts. The possibility that the Astronomical Tables might be the source of at least some of the other predictions was not seriously considered. If the view that the Goal-Year Texts constitute the source of the almanacs is correct, it means in fact that the computed results of the Astronomical Tables had no practical application.

55. It is a task for the future to decide this whole question of the source of the predictions made for astronomical phenomena in the non-tabular astronomical texts. Some inherent difficulties have already been mentioned in §11. For example, the Astronomical Tables are computed according to two different systems, each of which sometimes includes one or more subsystems. In some cases, it is certain that there once existed Astronomical Tables computed according to a subsystem not otherwise attested in the available Tables. In fact, it is far from certain that we are acquainted with all the subsystems used. For these and other reasons, multiple results are possible for phenomena calculated by Astronomical Tables.

56. In judging the predictions made by the Goal-Year Texts, there are also difficulties that remain to be met. A larger body of material is one necessity which, fortunately, we can expect to be supplied soon in the continuation of J. Schaumberger's work in the distinguished tradition of Strassmaier, Epping, and Kugler. The confrontation of the planetary and lunar sections of the Goal-Year Texts with corresponding predictions made in the non-tabular astronomical texts for the goal years in question is an important preliminary task that has not yet been performed. The source of the various sections of the Goal-Year Texts themselves is not yet certain. If, at the end of the

year preceding the goal year by the relevant period, the data for each planet and the moon were independently recorded on separate tablets for later consultation; no such texts have ever been published. Another possibility is that the data of the different sections were extracted from the Diaries, where such information is, in fact, buried in a welter of non-significant lunar data, meteorological information, lists of prices, river-level readings, historical events, etc. Since one Diary generally covers only one-half of a year, however, it would require the consultation of 16 different Diaries to draw up one Goal-Year Text.

57. It is also possible that it is incorrect to phrase the problem in terms of whether the Astronomical Tables or the Goal-Year Texts are the source of the predictions contained in the four main categories of non-tabular astronomical texts. For it is perfectly possible that both were used together, one as a check against the other, in making predictions. Still another possibility is that only the NS Almanacs used the Goal-Year Texts for predictions.

58. Whatever the source of the predictions in the non-tabular astronomical texts, it seems probable that the status of the predictions mentioning the signs of the zodiac—specifically, the Planetary Phenomena as opposed to the data concerning the distance between planets and Normal Stars—is special. The Planetary Phenomena statements consist of a date followed by an indication of the sign of the zodiac in which the characteristic phenomenon of the relevant planet would take place. When the Planetary Phenomena statements are followed by observational remarks (in Goal-Year Texts and Diaries), these remarks refer to the phenomenon s not having been seen on that date but they never say that the predicted sign of the zodiac is wrong, as one would expect in borderline cases. This appears to imply rather strongly that the checking of these predictions was limited to observation of the date alone. We can also make a more positive statement that points in the same direction. An inspection of all the items which mention a sign of the zodiac shows that we are in the presence of predictions in all such cases. Because all the 12 signs of the zodiac are of equal length by definition, they constituted for the Eabylcnians an ideal system of reference for making longitude predictions, though it was probably beyond the capacity of Eabylonian techniques of observational measurement to define in a precise way the boundary lines between the zodiacal signs in the sky.

59. A word should be said about the use of Eabylonian astronomical data in the

setting up of modern tables to compute astronomical phenomena of ancient Babylon. It is obvious from what has been said above about the nature of the various items contained in the non-tabular texts that great care must be exercised to avoid the use of data that were predicted, not observed. It is difficult to judge in most cases how much Schoch's tables for Babylon astronomical phenomena, particularly the dates of phenomena which occur near the horizon, were influenced by his demonstrable mistaking of Seleucid Babylonian predictions for observations. Thus, in his pamphlet entitled *The "Arcus Visionis" in the Babylonian Observations ...* (University Observatory, Oxford, 1924), the dates for Sirius phenomena mentioned in texts which, it so happens, contain nothing but predictions, are called "Babylonian observations". In another case — where he really cannot be blamed —, Schoch (*Sirius 59* (1926) 226 and *Planeten-Tafeln für Jedermann* [Berlin, 1927], p. XXXIII, note) praises the excellence of the Babylon horizon in the Seleucid period and in the same breath casts aspersions on Ptolemy's skill as observer because, according to a Babylonian text, a Mercury Ω was seen to follow $\alpha\Xi$ by only 14 days in the Fall of -217 whereas Ptolemy's *Almagest* denies visibility in cases of this sort. The Babylonian text (a *Cal-Year Text*, [28]), however, actually uses a special terminology occasionally found in connection with Mercury (and only Mercury). The characteristic term of this special terminology is DIB, which must be interpreted as a verbal form of *etēqu*, literally, "to pass by" (probably *ittiq*, "will pass by") and refers to the fact that the phenomenon will not be visible, since C. Neugebauer has been able to show that the same term occurs in Mercury Planetary Tables and Procedure Texts with precisely this meaning. The re-appraisal of Schoch's tables will have to take facts like these into consideration.

- AE J. Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon* (Freiburg, 1889).
 Erg. III SSB, 3. *Ergänzungsheft* (1935), by J. Schaumberger.
 S.E. Seleucid Era.
 SSB F.X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (Münster, 1907-1924).

Vokalfärbungen im Akkadischen

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Die semitischen Sprachen kennen bekanntlich nur drei Grundvokale mit Phonemcharakter, nämlich die lang und kurz vorkommenden Vokale *a*, *i* und *u*¹. Ebenso bekannt ist aber, dass diese Grundvokale in den Einzelsprachen mannigfach abgewandelt wurden, so dass der Vokalismus in allen Einzelsprachen wesentlich reicher entfaltet erscheint. In der Schrift kommt allerdings jeweils meist nur ein Teil dieser Vokale zu einem eindeutigen Ausdruck, sofern Vokale überhaupt geschrieben werden. Die Gesetze, unter denen sich die Entfaltung des Vokalismus vollzogen hat, sind in den einzelnen Sprachen freilich durchaus nicht gleichartig; sie müssen daher für jede Sprache getrennt herausgearbeitet werden. Bei den toten Sprachen, für die uns lediglich eine schriftliche Überlieferung vorliegt, ist diese Aufgabe besonders schwierig und immer nur zum Teil lösbar. Die Erkennung feinerer Ausspracheabweichungen ist in diesem Falle aber auch nur von geringerem Interesse; wir brauchen ihnen unserer Augenmerk nur soweit zuzuwenden, als es für das einwandfreie Verständnis der überlieferten Schreibungen der Wörter und der grammatischen Formen erforderlich ist.

Die Keilschrift hat neben den Silbenzeichen für *a*-, *i*- und *u*-haltige Silben auch solche für Silben mit *e*-Vokal entwickelt, weil *e* im Sumerischen ein besonderes Phonem ist. Allerdings werden die Silben mit *e* nur in einem Teil der Fälle durch besondere Zeichen von den entsprechenden Silben mit *i*-Vokal unterschieden; in vielen anderen Fällen können die *e*-haltigen Silben nur mit *i*-haltigen Silbenzeichen geschrieben werden. Aber auch dort, wo für Silben mit *i* und mit *e* verschiedene Zeichen zur Verfügung stehen, werden diese schon im Sumerischen nicht immer ganz streng auseinandergehalten; wir brauchen in diesem Zusammenhang darauf nicht näher einzugehen. Das Akkadische jedoch geht in dieser Hinsicht noch viel weiter, auch wenn die Gewohnheit der altassyrischen Schreiber, *i* und *e* lediglich noch bei den Vokalzeichen *i* und *e* zu unterscheiden, weder in Babylonien noch später in

1 G. Bergsträsser, Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen S. 5 nimmt an, dass *u* und *i* auf einer älteren Stufe 'morphologisch, funktionell gleichwertig waren'; angesichts der erheblichen Funktionsunterschiede zwischen beiden Vokalen in der Verbal-, Nominal- und Pronominalflexion vermag ich daran allerdings nicht zu glauben.

Assyrien nachgeahmt wurde. Die Folge ist, dass es in allen Sprachperioden Formen gibt, bei denen wir jedenfalls vorläufig noch nicht mit Sicherheit sagen können, ob sie mit *e* oder mit *i* ausgesprochen wurden, weil die Schreibweise zu ungleichmässig ist. Vielleicht haben wir allerdings aus dem häufigen Eintreten *i*-haltiger ^{Silbenzeichen} für *e*-haltige den phonetischen Schluss zu ziehen, dass *e* in solchen Fällen so geschlossen ausgesprochen wurde, dass es von *i* nur noch schwer zu unterscheiden war; die Frage, ob etwa altsüdbab. *ú-š_i-ri-ib* (YCS 7 17, 46 u.ö.) korrekt *ú-š_i²⁰-ri-ib* zu lesen ist oder nicht, würde dann für die Grammatik nur von geringer Bedeutung sein. Allerdings müssten dann die Fälle, in denen *e* oder *i* geschrieben werden kann, sorgfältig von denen geschieden werden, in denen — sofern der Schrift besondere *e*-haltige Zeichen zur Verfügung stehen — entweder immer *e* oder immer *i* geschrieben wird². Dass die babylonischen Schreiber die Unterscheidung von *e* und *i* oft für weniger bedeutungsvoll hielten, zeigt auch die Tatsache, dass die sogenannten *u-a-i*-Vokabulare (vgl. dazu H. S. Schuster, ZA 44, 225f.) die *e*-haltigen Zeichen vernachlässigen.

Fr. Thureau-Dangin hat in einem nachgelassenen Artikel "Les graphies rompues en Accadien" (Mémoires de la Délégation en France pour l'étude des Monuments et des Archives "Ex Oriente Lux" Nr. 8 1946 S. 15-18) aus der eben besprochenen mangelhaften Unterscheidung von *e* und *i* in vielen akkadischen Texten den Schluss gezogen, dass wir den babylonischen Schreibern das Bestreben, gelegentlich noch weitere besondere Vokalfärbungen in der Schrift zum Ausdruck zu bringen, keinesfalls zutrauen dürfen. Er wendet sich damit gegen den von mir zuerst 1936 in ZA 48, 216f. veröffentlichten Vorschlag, aus gebrochenen Silbenschriften des Typs *it-ta-zi-us*, *ku-ru-as* u.ä. das Bemühen einiger Schreiber um behelfsmässige Wiedergabe von Vokalen wie *ü* und *o* zu erkennen. Er selbst nimmt an, dass in solchen Fällen der Vokal des zweiten Zeichens von den Schreibern vernachlässigt werden sei, und umschreibt daher *it-ta-zi-(u)s*, *iš-ku-(i)n* u.ä. Er betrachtet solche Schreibungen als "le premier pas dans la voie de l'alphabétisme auquel le syllabaire accadien répugnait par nature et qu'il n'a jamais réalisé". Ähnlich drückt sich R. Labat in seinem Manuel d'épigraphie Akkadienne (1948) aus (S. 25), wo er diese Schreibungen unter der Überschrift "valeurs alphabétiques" aufführt und sagt: "Ces graphies dites 'rompues' constituent une timide ébauche d'alphabétisme, qui ne fut jamais poussée plus avant". In meinem Syllabar (AnCr. 27) habe ich auf S. 9 und 102 Anm. 2 mich kurz dagegen gewandt und eine eingehende Begründung meiner eigenen Auffassung in Aussicht

² Das sehr schwierige Problem, in welchen Fällen in den einzelnen Dialekten *e* für *i* eintritt, bedarf einer besonderen Untersuchung, die hier nicht geleistet werden kann. Für die elementaren Grundregeln kann auf die Grammatiken verwiesen werden.

gestellt; sie soll im Folgenden gegeben werden. Vorweg sei festgestellt, dass die Auffassung von F. Thureau-Dangin und R. Labat a.a.C., nach der bei gebrochenen Schreibungen immer der Vokal des ersten Zeichens der grammatisch geforderte sei, zwar für die grosse Mehrzahl der Fälle zutrifft, aber nicht immer (vgl. z.B. *šū-tu-eb-ru-ú* YCS X 17, 59 und *sí-im-mu-il-tim* YCS II 2C, 11); wir wären also auch zur Annahme von "valeurs alphabetiques" des Typs *m(u)-*, *t(u)-* genötigt, wenn die Deutung der beiden Gelehrten zuträfe, und es würde so noch unverständlicher werden, dass die Abstraktion von isolierten Konsonanten bereits in altbabylonischer Zeit keine nachhaltige Wirkung auf das System der Keilschrift gehabt hätte.

Der Widerspruch gegen meine in ZA 43, 316f. gegebene Deutung der gebrochenen Schreibungen war verständlich, da mir damals zur Begründung nur ein ganz unzureichendes Material zur Verfügung stand. Vor allem hatte ich damals noch nicht gesehen, dass die gebrochenen Schreibungen nicht das einzige Mittel waren, mit dem die Schreiber Vokalfärbungen der gesprochenen Sprache wiedergeben konnten, wenn sie dieses tun wollten. Daher soll hier ohne Rücksicht auf die frühere Notiz und die ganz summarischen Bemerkungen in meinem Syllabar S. 9 und 10 Anm. 2 das mir heute bekannte Material — sicher auch noch sehr lückenhaft — vorgelegt und besprochen werden, um den Fachgenossen ein Urteil auf breiter Grundlage zu ermöglichen. Dabei bedarf es sicher keiner besonderen Begründung, dass ich Schreibungen aus den Randgebieten des akkadischen Schrifttums wie vor allem den Archiven von el-Amarna und Boğazköy/Hattusas, von Nuzi-Arrappa und Susa, um nur die wichtigsten zu nennen, hier ganz unberücksichtigt lasse, weil sie durch die Schreibgewohnheiten im Bereich der jeweiligen Landessprachen und bisweilen vielleicht auch durch mangelhafte Zeichenkenntnis verursacht sein können³. Tragfähige Schlüsse können wir nur auf Schreibungen aus den Kerngebieten des babylonischen und assyrischen Schrifttums gründen und auch da nur auf Reihen gleichartiger Schreibungen, da man in Einzelfällen die Möglichkeit oft nicht ganz ausschliessen kann, dass lediglich Schreiberversehen zu einer ungewöhnlichen Schreibung geführt haben. Gliedern werden wir das jetzt recht umfangreiche Material nach den Hauptdialekten und Sprachperioden. Das Altakkadische lasse ich hier beiseite, da ich zur Zeit nur eine einzige in diesem Zusammenhang zu erwähnende Schreibung nachweisen kann (vgl. *Na-hi-áš-[t]um* Cr. 47/49 Nr. 331, 7)⁴, und beginne mit den besonders zahlreichen gebrochenen

3 Gang und gäbe sind gebrochene Schreibungen vor allem im Elamischen; die Gründe dafür festzustellen, muss der elamistischen Forschung überlassen werden. Als Folge dieser elamischen Schreibgewohnheit begegnen solche Schreibungen auch in den babylonischen Urkunden aus Susa ganz besonders häufig.

4 Schreibungen wie altakk. *be-al* und *i-be-al* (vgl. F. Thureau-Dangin a.a.O. S. 16 für Belege) gehören m.E. nicht in diesen Zusammenhang; sie weisen darauf, dass damals

Schreibungen aus altbabylonischen Texten. Sie finden sich in Briefen, Urkunden und auch verschiedenen literarischen Texten, aber, soweit ich bisher sehen kann, nicht in den besonders sorgfältig geschriebenen Gesetzen, den Königsbriefen aus Babylonien und den Eigennamen (mit Ausnahme einzelner ostkanaanäischer aus Mâri); in Frcsatekten waren sie also anscheinend nicht hoffähig, da sie der Sprache des täglichen Lebens Zugeständnisse machten.

Wir prüfen zunächst die Hinweise auf ein gesprochenes offenes *o* im Altbabylonischen. *a-u* statt *a* wird meines Wissens dreimal geschrieben: *ka-uk-ki* TCL XXIV 15, 7; *it-ta-us-si* VS VIII 73 (= VAB V 9), 20⁵; *ma-uš-ša-ar-tim* Warka 1C8 (= VAB V 235), 5. Das erste Beispiel (aus Mâri) ist bisher singular; die beiden anderen Formen zeigen die aus dem Arabischen geläufige Erscheinung, dass ein emphatischer Laut, hier *s*, zur Verdunkelung eines benachbarten *a* führt. Für *u-a* statt *u* gibt es kein sicheres Beispiel, da die Schreibungen mit AS nach *u* wohl nicht hierhergehören. Den Lautwert *us₄* für AS hatte ich früher bestritten, aber auf Grund des neuen Materials in das Syllabar aufgenommen. Dass AS auch in den gebrochenen Schreibungen jedenfalls in der Regel als *us₄* zu lesen ist, zeigt der nicht seltene Wechsel von AS und *is*: vgl. *tu-AS-bu* MKT II Tf. 35, 21 mit *tu-iš-bu* ebd. III S. 5, 15; *lu-Aš-ba-at* (Frekativ!) CT IX 12, 10. 25 und 14 I 3. II 6 (s. MKT I 149 und 220f.) mit *lu-iš-ba-at* CT VI 21b (= VAB VI 13C), 11; *hu-ru-Aš* MKT II Tf. 36, 11 und 37, 19 mit *ah-ru-is* ebd. S. 46, 23f.; *ma-ru-Aš* TCL XVII 29, 17 mit *ma-ru-iš* CT 29, 14 (= VAB VI 227), 5; *mar-sú-AS-sú* ebd. 20 (= VAB VI 137), 13 mit *mar-šú-is-sú* VS XVI 52, 9⁶. Da ein Wechsel von *o* und *ü* in der Aussprache derselben Wörter andenkbar erscheint, werden wir auch in den anderen Fällen die (übrigens auch in den Susa-Urkunden häufige) Lesung *us₄* für AS bevorzugen. Vgl. dazu noch: *šu-tah-ru-us₄* YOS VIII 165 a 6 = b 7; *tu-us₄-š_i* VS XVI 137, 20; *az-zu-us₄-sú-nu-š_i-im* YCS II 92, 16; *zu-us₄* CT IX 12, 3 (s. MKT I 148); *lu-us₄-mu-ur* VS X 214 II 5. Von den gebrochenen Schreibungen abgesehen, weist auf ein in manchen Fällen gesprochenes *o* der Wechsel von *u* und *a* in dem gleichen Wort bzw. der gleichen Form. So findet sich statt *iturrū* (viele Belege VAB V 558), der normalen Pluralform des Präsens von *tāru*, in CT II 46 (= VAB V 283), 23 *i-ta-ru* und in TCL VII 49, 9 *i-ta-ar-ru* für *i-tu-ūr-ru* ebd. 60, 19. Hier öffnet anscheinend *r*, das ja be-

zwischen *e* und *a* mindestens noch ein schwacher Laryngal gesprochen wurde.

- 5 Nach Ausweis der Zeichenwahl (vgl. die Verwendung des Zeichens *qa* in Z. 12 und 18) sowie der Pluralform *ú-ne-ti-im* in Z. 19 dürfte diese Urkunde aus dem Bereiche von Mâri oder vielleicht aus dem Osttigrislande, aber nicht aus Sippar stammen.
- 6 P. Kraus in MVAeG 36,1, 3f. will trotz der weiter noch bezeugten Schreibung *mar-šú-us-sú* in YOS II 61, 27 diese Formen in zwei Wörter auflösen, obwohl *maršūssu* hier sicher auf **maršūt-šu* zurückgeht (Bildung wie *reḡūssu* 'mit leeren Händen'). Der genaue Sinn dieses als Attribut zu Geld gebrauchten Ausdrucks ist allerdings noch nicht klar.

kanntlich auch ein vorausgehendes *i* oft zu *e* öffnet, ein *u* zu *o*, was durch die Schreibung mit *a* angedeutet wird. Ähnlich zu deuten ist es, wenn in den Māribriefen in *Mélanges Dussaud* 994f. Z.11 *wa-aš-šu-ru-tum* neben *wu-uš-šu-ru* ebd. 12 (vgl. auch noch den Infinitiv *wa-aš-šu-ri* ebd. S. 994 zweimal statt normalen *wuššuri*) und der Imperativ *waššer* oft (z.B. TOL XXII 78, 12; 8C, 14 u.ö.) statt des zu erwartenden *wuššer* (ebd. 1C, 18 u.ö.) steht. Für Assyriasmen können wir die Formen *waššer* und *waššurum* nicht halten, da es dafür in den Māribriefen keinerlei Analogie gibt. Vielmehr ist hier *u* zwischen *w* und *š* zu *o* geöffnet, was phonetisch durchaus verständlich ist. Der gleiche Lautwandel zwischen *w* und *t* ist aus der Imperativform *wa-at-te!-ra-nim-ma* TOL XXIII 99, 3C zu erschliessen, wenn meine Emendation des unverständlichen *du* der Kopie zu *te!* richtig ist. Auch der umgekehrte Vorgang, die Verdunkelung von *a* zu *o* in bestimmten Fällen, lässt sich in ähnlicher Weise bisweilen nachweisen. So wird der ekstatische Priester *mahhūm* in Māri durchweg als *muhhūm* geschrieben (vgl. G. Dossin RA 35, 13 Anm. 2; TOL XXIV 40, 9. 19; 78, 12. 20. 27), wohl eine Folge der Stellung des *a* zwischen dem Labial *m* und *h*; in der Schreibung *šu-ul-hu-um* in TOL XXIII 1C1, 11 für *šalhūm* "Aussenwall" hat vermutlich das *l* nach einem *š* den Vokal gefärbt. Ob auch der Wechsel von *iraggam* und *iraggum* in den Sipparurkunden (viele Belege in VAB V 546f.) lautlich zu deuten ist oder ob hier der Wechsel von zwei Präsenstypen vorliegt, möchte ich vorläufig noch dahingestellt sein lassen. Für den Nachweis, dass sowohl *u* wie *a* unter bestimmten Umständen zu *o* werden konnten, werden aber die vorstehenden Belege wohl genügen⁷.

In ähnlicher Weise lässt sich auch ein meist wohl ziemlich undeutlich gesprochenes *ü* als Zwischenlaut zwischen *u* und *i* sowie gegentlich ein *ö* nachweisen. Schon im letzten Absatz hatte ich mehrere gebrochene Schreibungen mit *u-i* vor Zischlaut angeführt (vgl. S. 294f.); weitere Beispiele der gleichen Art sind: *ku-pu-iš* YCS X 36 I 34; *mu-ru-iš* ABFh. 187, 12; *na-zu-iz-zu-ú* RA XXII 171, 39; *lu-iš-ni-qa-am* TOL XXII 31, 13; *i-pu-is-si* ebd. 54; *e-pu-iš* TOL XVII 28, 9; vielleicht auch *pu-iš-gi-im* ebd. XVIII 88, 19 (Lesung sicher?). Aber auch vor anderen Konsonanten scheint der Übergang von *u* zu *ü* gelegentlich vorgekommen zu sein; vgl. *bu-iq-li* SMT 3 II 8; *šu-ku-in* TOL I 27 (= VAB VI 157), 15; *iš-ku-in* ebd. 166 (= VAB V 162), 5; *bu-ir-ri-im* ebd. 35 (= VAB VI 192), 14 und ebd. Z. 22 *bu-ir-tim*; vielleicht auch [...] *bu-il(?)* TOL XVII 58, 25. Einen Übergang von *u* über

⁷ Aus dem Bereich des Ostkanaanäischen von Māri vgl. hier noch den Wechsel von *Ia-am-ru-iš* TOL XXIII 75, 6 mit *Iú-um-ra-aš* ebd. 57, 4. Als Andeutung eines aus *ā-u* kontrahierten *ö* möchte A. Poebel, AS 9, 116f. den altbab. ungewöhnlichen Gebrauch des Zeichens U statt Ú in der Wortliste UM V 102 deuten (z.B. *la-wu-u-um* II 1, *qá-bu-u-um* III 16). Solange diese Beobachtung sich nur auf einen einzigen Text stützen kann, muss ihre Ausdeutung unsicher bleiben; unmöglich erscheint sie mir nicht, obwohl der Diphthong *au* altbab. sicher zu *ü* und nicht zu *ö* geworden ist (ebenso *ai* zu *ĩ* und nicht zu *ē*).

ü zu i, der sich wahrscheinlich gerade in der altbabylonischen Zeit vollzogen hat, können wir bei mehreren Verben beobachten. Zu ihnen gehört *emēdum*, das dichterisch noch das Frt. *īmud* bildet (vgl. *li-mu-sú* KH XXVII r 51), sonst aber schon durchweg *īmid*, ferner *ezēbum*, bei dem der alte Imperativ *ezub* noch präpositional im Sinne von "abgesehen von" (vgl. z.B. VAB V 522) vorkommt, während sich sonst schon die Form *ezib* (Frt. *īzib*) durchgesetzt hat, und schliesslich *erēšum* "säen, pflanzen", das altakk. und assyr. zur *u/a*-Klasse gehört, altbab. aber schon das Frt. *īriš* bildet⁸.

Aber auch kurzes *i* wurde offenbar bisweilen wie *ü* ausgesprochen. So wird *ibissūm* in Omentexten einmal *i-bi-us-sú* (YCS X 31 III 39) und einmal *i-bi-us-sé-e* (ebd. 54 Rs. 8) geschrieben; weitere gebrochene Schreibungen vor Zischlaut aus Dichtungen sind *it-ta-zi-uz* VS X 214 VII 2 und *i-ri-us-su* KA XXII 171, 55. In Māri wurde offenbar vor *š* in geschlossener Silbe manchmal *ü* statt *i* gesprochen; vgl. *li-uš-ta(-a)-al* TOL XXIII 141, 8; XXII 54, 18; 109, 55 (ebd. 44 *li-iš₇-ta-al!*) u.ö. sowie den Namen *Kar-ka-mi-uš* KA XXXV 117, 5. *u-i* vor *l* schliesslich findet sich in *sí-im-mu-il-tim* YCS II 20, 11. Vielleicht gehören in diesen Zusammenhang auch zwei Imperativformen mit *u* statt *i* in der zweiten Silbe, nämlich *šu-bu-la-am* BIN VII 55, 15 und *wu-tu-ur* CT XV 4, 15; ob wir aus ihnen ablesen dürfen, dass *i* in Formen dieser Art häufiger als *ü* gesprochen wurde, muss vorläufig dahingestellt bleiben. Auf ein gesprochenes *ö* statt des in der Regel geschriebenen *e* deuten die Schreibungen *li-še₄-ūh₄-hi-ma* ABPh. 159, 24, *ú-še-uš-ši* YCS X 23, Rs. 8; 25, 26. 69 und wohl auch *šu-tu-eb-ru-ú* ebd. 17, 59; bei den beiden ersten Formen machen die benachbarten emphatischen Konsonanten die Vokalfärbung verständlich. Etwas anders zu erklären ist es hingegen, wenn wir altbab. das Wort *nukurtum* "Feindschaft" manchmal in der Form *nekurtum* antreffen (die erste Silbe als *ne-* oder *né-* geschrieben; vgl. TCL XXII 1 Rs. 4. 8; XXIII 102, 29; YOS X 31 I 31; IX 50; XI 46); hier ist offenbar das unbetonte *u* der ersten Silbe zum Marmelvokal verflüchtigt, den A. Goetze schon überzeu-

8 Den Übergang *ü* würde uns die Form *e-ri-uš* TCL XVII 5, 18 zeigen, wenn der beschädigte Text hier richtig gelesen ist. *erēšum* 'wünschen' gehört in allen Dialekten zur *i*-Klasse. Einmalig ist die gebrochene Schreibung eines Pronominalsuffixes in der mehrfach zitierten Ištarhymne RA XXII 171, 52, wo *a-ni-ri-i-ši-ú* für *an-nī-ri-šū* steht. Wenn hier *u* nach *i* zu *ü* gefärbt ist, fällt es auf, dass ein solcher Übergang bei Suffixen durch keine weitere Stelle bezeugt ist. Für den entsprechenden Übergang bei der Nominativendung könnte die Form *mi-ni-im* UCP IX 349 (= OBL Nr. 22), 24 angeführt werden, wenn sie als korrekt gelten darf. Die vereinzelt nachzuweisende Verwechslung der Zeichen *tim* und *tum* bei Nominativ- und Genetivformen des Femininums hingegen mochte ich vorläufig als fehlerhaft betrachten; im Altassyrischen, wo sie häufiger ist, könnte sie aussprachebedingt sein (vgl. schon mein Syl-labar S. 8). — Ein weiteres Beispiel für den Wechsel von *i* und *u* in der Schreibung eines Wortes fremder Herkunft ist *amru/immu* 'Türflügel' o.ä. Neben der Form *am₁-ru-um-ma-am* in TCL XVIII 77, 23, die auch die Form der jüngeren Synonymenlisten ist, findet sich in Māri *am-ri-im-mi* TCL XXIII 30, 10, ohne dass wir schon sicher sagen könnten, ob in der zweiten Silbe der Vokal *i* oder *u* der ursprüngliche ist.

gend in dem als *i* geschriebenen Auslaut bestimmter status constructus Formen nach Doppelkonsonanz wie *šalašta*, *šuppa* u.dgl. erkannt hat (vgl. JNES V 194). Es ist zu vermuten, dass das Akkadische mit seinem starken Iktusakzent einen Murrelvokal anstatt kurzer Vollvokale noch in anderen Fällen gesprochen hat; es muss der weiteren Forschung überlassen bleiben, Hinweise darauf im Schriftbild zu finden⁹.

Sehr viel schwieriger zu beurteilen nach ihrem Sinn und Wert ist eine letzte Gruppe von gebrochenen Schreibungen mit den Vokalen *a-i* und *i-a*. *i-a* für korrektes *i* kann ich nur zweimal vor *s* belegen; vgl. *li-ip-pa-ri-ás* TCL I 32 (= VAB VI 189), 8 und *ap-pa-li-ás* ABFh. 9b, 20. Für *i-a* anstatt *a* kenne ich die drei Stellen *it-ti-al-kam* VS XVI 146, 25, *ta-li-a-qé-a-ni* ebd. 95, 37 und *a-li-a-qé-a-am* YCS II 31, 12 (in Z.13 steht korrekt *a-la-qé-a-am!*); die beiden letzten Schreibungen sind vielleicht aus dem Schwanken des Altbabylonischen zwischen den Fräsensformen *ilaqqe* und *ileqqe* (so der KH) zu erklären, während die erste vorläufig unverständlich ist. Nur wenig zahlreicher sind die mir bekannten Beispiele für die Schreibung *a-i* statt *a*; vgl. *tu-pa-ra-is* FA XXXV 112 Anm. 2 (Mári); *ta-la-ma-is(?) - sí-na-ti* TCL XVII 59, 21; *i-za-is-zu* ABFh. 130, 25 (Kontext zerstört); *ta-il-li-kam-ma* TCL XVII 10, 30; *i-ša-il-li-iq* I 166 (= VAB V 162), 5; *i-pa/pá-il* Boyer, Contrib. H.E. 112, 13, 17. Auf den gebrochenen Vokal folgt also entweder *s* bzw. *z* oder *l*; haben wir anzunehmen, dass vor diesen Konsonanten die Neigung bestand, ein kurzes *a* als kurzes offenes *e* auszusprechen? Die Möglichkeit, dass in dem einen oder anderen Fall ein Schreibfehler vorliegt, muss immerhin im Auge behalten werden.

Wenden wir nun auf das Altbabylonische, für das uns die bei weitem grösste Zahl an solchen gebrochenen Schreibungen zur Verfügung steht, zurück, so können wir feststellen, dass sich ein sehr grosser Teil dieser Schreibungen durch die Annahme gut verständlich machen liess, dass sie Vokalfärbungen behelfsmässig wiedergeben sollen, und dies umso mehr, als wir zur Erhärtung dieser Deutung ungewöhnliche Vokalschreibungen anderer Art heranziehen konnten. Ein *o* liess sich meistens aus der Nachbarschaft von emphatischen Konsonanten, Labialen oder *r* erklären, während für *ü* offenbar oft Zischlaute und gelegentlich ein *l*¹⁰ verantwortlich sind. Gegen eine ausschliesslich graphische Ausdeutung der gebrochenen Schreibungen lässt sich noch anführen, dass diese graphisch oft kompli-

9 Es darf hier immerhin die Frage aufgeworfen werden, ob der in ZA 40, 177ff. besprochenen Apokopierung der Pronominalsuffixe nicht eine unbestimmte Aussprache der auslautenden Suffixvokale als Murrelvokal vorausging, bei der dann allerdings die Unterscheidung der Geschlechter in den Singularformen verloren gegangen sein müsste.

10 Hier muss allerdings auch die weitere Möglichkeit in Rechnung gestellt werden, dass *i* und *u* vor *l* bisweilen nur eine behelfsmässige Schreibung für vokalisches *l* darstellen. Ziemlich sicher ist es, dass die ungleiche Schreibung des ersten Vokals in *pur šu'u/pir ša'u* 'Floh' (vgl. dazu B. Landsberger, Fauna S. 126) dadurch

zierter und nicht einfacher sind als die Normalschreibungen, so dass ihre Verwendung unter diesem Gesichtspunkt meist gar nicht verständlich gemacht werden kann. Der Vokalismus des Altbabylonischen erweist sich bei Berücksichtigung der hier besprochenen ungewöhnlichen Schreibweisen als reich an Abstufungen; neben den drei Grundvokalen und *e* kommen offenes *o*, *ü*, *ö*, der Murrelvokal und vielleicht noch ein offenes *e* in geschlossener Silbe vor. Das zur Zeit verfügbare Material reicht nicht aus, um eindeutige Regeln zu erkennen, wann solche Vokalfärbungen eintraten; es genügt vor allem auch nicht, um den Einfluss von Dialektverschiedenheiten auf den Vokalismus, der sicher beträchtlich war, herauszuarbeiten. In Anbetracht der im Verhältnis zu dem Gesamtumfang der altbabylonischen Texte ausserordentlichen Seltenheit dieser Schreibungen werden auch weitere Beispiele, die die Forschung in alten und neuen Texten sicher noch finden wird, uns vermutlich nicht zu einem wesentlich deutlicherem Bild verhelfen.

Wenn wir nun einen Blick auf das Altassyrische werfen, so stellen wir fest, dass in den Briefen und Urkunden aus Kleinasien und den wenigen Königsinschriften gebrochene Schreibungen fast gar nicht vorkommen. Abgesehen von den beiden schon von J. Lewy in MVAeG 33 S. 65 Anm. a genannten Fraesensformen *ú-ša-iš* und *i-ta-ra-iš* — ist die Lesung wirklich gesichert? — sind mir keine weiteren Schreibungen dieser Art begegnet, angesichts der weitgehenden Vereinfachung und Normung der altassyrischen Orthographie gewiss kein blosser Zufall. Ebenso fehlen meines Wissens andere Hinweise auf Vokalfärbungen vielleicht mit Ausnahme des Murrelvokals (vgl. dazu mein Syllabar S. 8), obwohl es solche in der Aussprache gewiss doch auch gegeben hat. Die altassyrischen Texte müssen daher als für unsere Frage mindestens vorläufig unergiebig hier ausser Betracht bleiben (eine Ausnahme s. unten S. 300).

Wenn wir uns nun den jüngeren babylonischen Dialekten zuwenden, so ist es angezeigt, dass wir das Babylonische der etwa mit dem Aufkommen der Chaldäerdynastie einsetzenden Spätzeit hier ganz beiseite lassen, weil diese Sprache unter dem starken Einfluss des Aramäischen auf allen Gebieten beträchtliche Umformungen erfahren hat und die Verwilderung der nicht selten künstlich archaisierenden Orthographie sichere Schlüsse auf die ihr zugrundeliegende Lautgestalt der Wörter erst nach gründlichen Einzeluntersuchungen zulassen würde. Gebrochene Vokalschreibungen sind im jüngeren Babylonischen, soweit ich sehen kann, nicht mehr üblich¹¹. Jedoch zeigen vereinzelte ungewöhnliche Vokalschreibungen und Wortvarianten, dass *a* unter dem Einfluss von Labialen auch weiterhin zu *o* werden konnte.

verursacht ist, dass dort ein vokalisches *r* gesprochen wurde.

¹¹ Bei einzelnen merkwürdig geschriebenen Wörtern in Listen wie *e-al-ú* CT XVIII 14 b 44 ist die Korrektheit der uns überlieferten Abschrift des Textes zu fraglich, als dass wir aus solchen Formen Schlüsse auf die Aussprache ziehen könnten.

So wird statt *i-dab-bu-[ub]* CT XXXVII, 45 a 15 im Duplikat ebd. 49 b 13 *i-dub-bu-ub* geschrieben, und zu dem Baumnamen *daprānu*—diese Form bereits in Māri TCL XXII 136, 8. 13—verzeichnen schon die Wörterbücher die Nebenform *duprānu*. Ähnlicher Art ist die in SLT 2, 28 bezugte Form *lum-mu* des sonst *lammu* lautenden Baumnamens, und das in V R 15, 31 und CT XVIII 14 b 56 *edappatu* geschriebene Kleidungsstück hat in CT XIX 36 Sm. 6, 19 die Form *eduppatu*¹². Auch die Fluralform *nu-un-ša-ba-a-ti* zu *nanšabu* (Epic of Gilg. Fl. 59, 14) gehört wohl hierher. Für ein gesprochenes *ü* lassen sich ebenfalls einige Zeugnisse beibringen. So findet sich zu einigen der nach der Form *purussā^{um}* gebildeten Substantive (vgl. Symb. Koschaker S. 199ff. und Or. N.S. XV 423ff.) eine Nebenform mit geschriebenem *i* in der zweiten Silbe, die schon altbab. bezeugt ist (vgl. *ú-zi-bi-ša* VAB V 2, 21 und den Flural *ru-gi-ma-ni* in Susa MDF XXVIII, 418, 18 u.ö.), aber auch noch in späten Texten vorkommt (vgl. Muss-Arnolt S. 655a für *nudinnū* und VAB IV 254, 11 für *purissū*)¹³. Die auffälligen Infinitivformen *šum-qí-ra/ri* in UM I 2, 57 5 und 15 hat bereits S. Bloch in Or. N.S. IX 319 als Wiedergaben eines in der zweiten Silbe gesprochenen *ü* zu erklären versucht. Den umgekehrten Übergang von *i* zu *ü*, das als *u* geschrieben wird, zeigt uns die merkwürdige Form *tu-še-eš-ku-un* im Tukulti-Ninurta-Epos (Archaeologia 79) Kol. II 5 und III 30 sowie auch die bei Assurbanipal bezugte Nebenform *is-sa-ru-uh* zu normalem *iš-ša-ri-ih* (vgl. M. Streck, VAB VII S. 585). Nicht ganz sicher ist mir hingegen, ob die im literarischen Mittel- und Neubabylonischen gelegentlich bezugte Präsensform des N-Stammes *iššakkin* statt normalen *iššakkan* (vgl. EBSt. Nr. 6 II 28; 8 III 15 und tcp 16; 9 I 32; Weisheitstext PSEA 1916, 105ff. Kol. I 17. 28) mit S. Bloch a.a.O. 320 aus einer Aussprache mit *ü* zu erklären ist; näher liegt es an ein unbestimmt ausgesprochenes *e* zu denken. Bei anderen Verben ist mir ein solcher Vokalwechsel im N-Stamm nicht begegnet.

Während das bisher erschlossene Material für Vokalfärbungen im jüngeren Babylonischen ziemlich dürftig ist, sehen wir für das jüngere Assyrische in manchen Punkten wesentlich klarer. Die gebrochene Schreibung als Ausdrucksmittel für Vokalfärbungen ist allerdings auch hier nicht mehr sehr gebräuchlich; sie begegnet häufiger nur noch bei der Wiedergabe fremder Namen, die in den assyrischen Königsinschriften in so grosser Zahl begegnen, und hier ist sie auch früher schon öfter richtig gedeutet worden. Einige Beispiele dieser Art wie *Qa-a-ú-e* neben *Qu-ú-e* und *A-uš-pi-a* neben *Uš-pi-a* bespricht F. Sommer in Ah-hijavafrage und Sprachwissenschaft S. 75; vgl. ferner *Sa-ar-da-ur-ri* neben *Sa-ar-du-ur-ri* bei Tiglatpilesar III. (s. F. Kost's Ausgabe S. 143) und *Til-Bur/Bar-sa-ip* bei Salmanas-

12 In UM I 2, 36, 23 steht gewiss nicht *šu-pār*, wie S. Bloch in Or. N.S. IX 317 annahm sondern *šu-pur!*, also die normale Imperativform.

13 Aus einem Boğazköy-Vokabular wäre hier noch die Schreibung *šu-ur-ri-ip-p[u-ú]* KBo I 36 II 7 (Lesung nach E. Weidner LSS VII 143) zu nennen.

sar III. (s. dazu E. Michel WdO I 14 Anm. 11 und 18 Anm. 16), um nur noch einige Schreibungen dieser Art zu nennen, die hier vollständig aufzuführen nicht notwendig ist. Ausserhalb der fremden Namen kenne ich nur wenige Beispiele für gebrochene Schreibungen. So findet sich *a-u* vcr *s* statt *a* in mittelass. *ú-pa-us-sí* KAJ 2, 12 — die Schreibung dieser Form ist auch sonst ungewöhnlich! — und *ka-ús-pí* ebd. 6, 28, während es zwischen zwei *r* einmal bei Sargcn bezeugt ist (vgl. *šah-ra-ur-tú* H. Winckler, Sargcn Nr. 50, 7 = A. Lie, Sargcn, S. 74, 7). Auch für *i-u* statt *i* kenne ich nur einen Beleg vor *l*, nämlich die Form *ú-bi-ul* AfC III 154, 9 (Assur-dān II.). Die gresse Seltenheit solcher Schreibungen ist auch verständlich; denn die Kontraktion zusammenstossender Vokale wurde noch im Neassyrischen viel seltener durchgeführt als schon im Altbabylonischen, das ausserhalb der Dichtung z.B. *i-u* schon regelmässig zu *ú* zusammengezogen hatte. Der Assyrer las daher die Folge *i-u* in der Regel noch zweisilbig, so dass eine solche Schreibung zur Wiedergabe des Vokals *ú* ungeeignet war. Auch sonst lassen sich für ein gesprochenes *ú* im jüngeren Assyrischen nur wenige Zeugnisse anführen, so etwa die Schreibung *ku-ri-il-li* für sonstiges *kurulli* in KAV 99, 39 und vielleicht die einmalige Schreibung *ši-tap-ru-šú* Assurnassirpal Ann. III 26 statt *šutaprušu*.

Um so erheblicher ist das Material für ein gesprochenes offenes *o* im Assyrischen, das mit *u* geschrieben wird, wenn es aus *a* entstanden ist, und mit *a*, wenn es für ursprüngliches *u* gesprochen wurde. Besonders oft wurde *a* zu *o* verdunkelt. Wohl unter dem Einfluss des vorangehenden *u* wurde das Infix *-ta-* der *t*-Formen von D- und Š-Stämmen oft zu *o*; vgl. die Schreibungen *šu-tuq-qu-ri* Sargcn, 8. Feldzug 315¹⁴, *ú-tu-ḫi-ir* Astr. chald. II Sppl. Nr. 62, 7, *ú-tu-ús-si-ku* ABL 34C Rs. 8 und *ú-tu-si-ḫu* ebd. 567 Rs. 7 (neben *ú-ta-si-ḫu* ebd. 498 Rs. 8); ein Einfluss der auf den Vokal folgenden Konsonanten scheint hier, von dem *q* der ersten Form abgesehen, weniger wahrscheinlich. In vielen anderen Fällen führt aber sicher der Einfluss der benachbarten Konsonanten zur Färbung des Vokals. Für vorangehendes *q* mit folgendem Labial oder *l* vgl. *ú-ra-qu-ub* ABL 997, 1C und die Variante *šú-qu-lu-la* zu *šú-qa-lu-la* Assurnassirpal Ann. I 62, und vor *l* ferner noch *i-da-gul* ABL 532 Rs. 9 und 1362 Rs. 3 (neben *i-da-gal* 312 Rs. 5; 125C Rs. 6). Besonders häufig ist dieses aber vcr *r*. Hier finden wir im Wechsel mit normal vokalisiertcn Formen die folgenden mit *u* statt mit *a* geschriebenen Präsensformen: *i-ga-mur* ABL 5C8 Rs. 9; *ú-ga-mur* ebd. 33C, 7. 13. 15 (neben *ú-ga(-am)-mar* 581, 8; 626, 4); *i-ka-sur* ebd. 91, 17, Rs. 315; *i-na-šur* ebd. 424, 12; 482, 9; u.ö.; *e-mur* KAJ 98, 9 (neben *e-mar* ebd. 93, 13; 94, 9

14 Die Sprache der Inschriften Sargons ist ein lautlich stark assyrisch gefärbtes Babylonisch. Formen mit assyrischem Lautstand werden daher zweckmässig im Rahmen des Assyrischen behandelt.

15 Vgl. aber in Rs. 7 desselben Textes die Form *a-ka-šar*; entsprechend heisst es in

u.ö.); *ta-šá-pur* KAV 115, 12. 28; ferner noch die Schreibungen *am-mur* ABL 405 Rs. 6 statt *ammar* und *tur-ta-a-nu* bzw. *tur-tan* neben *tar-tan-nu* u. ä. (zahlreiche Belege in den Wörterbüchern) sowie die assyrisch mehrfach belegte Schreibung des Stadtnamens Sippar als *Si-pur* (vgl. KAR 134, 18; *Archaeologia* 79 Pl. XLI Nr. 1, 9; ABL 320, 8; 745 Rs. 6 u.ö.). Schliesslich gehört wohl auch die assyrische Form des Adjektivs *qerbu* "nahe", die schon altassyrisch anstatt *qarbu* (so z.B. Tell Halaf Nr. 115, 9) meist *qurbu* lautet (z.B. BIN IV 26, 5), hierher; *o* ist hier gewiss durch das *q* in Verbindung mit dem folgenden *r* verursacht (vgl. auch die von S. Ylvisaker in LSS V 6, 32 zitierten Stativformen).

Der umgekehrte Vorgang, die Öffnung von *u* zu *o*, ist ebenfalls wieder vor *r* bezeugt, und zwar nach emphatischen Konsonanten und Labialen. Beispiele dafür sind der mittelassyrische Imperativ *šu-tar* KAV 104, 16. 22 und 205, 29 sowie (hier neben *pu-tur!*)^{sowie} die neuass. Formen *áš-par* ABL 342 Rs. 19, *as-par* ebd. 727 Rs. 4. 13 und *la-áš-par* ebd. 1245 Rs. 14. Nicht ganz sicher ist, ob das zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Radikal statt *u* geschriebene *a* auch in einer grösseren Anzahl von neuass. Subjunktivformen sowie pluralischen Ventiv- und Prekativformen als *o* ausgesprochen zu denken ist, weil hier die Art des vorausgehenden und folgenden Konsonanten anscheinend ohne Belang ist. Ich hatte schon in ZA 45, 48 festgestellt, dass neuassyrische Formen mit der Endung *-ūni* nicht der Vokalharmonie unterliegen, weil in ihnen der dritte Radikal offenbar lang (verdoppelt) gesprochen wurde (vgl. dazu noch *im-ra-aš-šu-ni* ABL 137C, 10). Infolgedessen unterbleibt nicht nur der sonst übliche Übergang eines kurzen *a* in *u* vor einem *u* in der Endung, sondern es wird sogar umgekehrt ein ursprüngliches *u* oft in ein *a* verwandelt, obwohl ein betontes langes *u* darauf folgt. Eine ganze Anzahl Beispiele hierfür führt S. Ylvisaker in LSS V 6, 31f. an, zitiert dabei allerdings einige Formen ohne die Endung *-ni*, die doch den Vokalismus erst verständlich macht¹⁶. Weitere Formen der gleichen Art sind z.B. *lik-ša-ru-ni* ABL 1276 Rs. 11, *i-ma-qa-tu(-u)-ni* ebd. 1066 Rs. 1 und 1368 Rs. 5; von Pronominal-

der 1. Person *a-da-gal* ebd. 211, 11 u.ö. Bei der 1. Person sind im G-Stamm Schreibungen mit *u* nicht belegt.

- 16 In ABL 196, 15 steht *i-ma-ta-hu-né-e*, in 633 Rs. 12 *i-ma-ga-ru-u-ni*. *magāru* flektiert altbab. und altass. (vgl. dazu z.B. *ta-ma-gār* CCT II 50, 28) nach der transitiven *u/a*-Klasse, ist aber schon im Mittelbabylonischen (vgl. z.B. *i-man-gu-ru* UM I 2, 61, 13) und Mittelassyrischen (vgl. z.B. *ta-ma-gu-ra* KAV 194, 18) in die intransitive *u/u*-Klasse übergegangen. Der N-Stamm hat mittelass. im Präsens noch das normale *a* (vgl. *im-ma-an-ga-ar* KAV 2 II 20); neuass. sagt man hingegen meines Wissens immer mit *u* *im-ma-gūr/gu-ur* (vgl. ABL 43, 7; 125, 9(!); 196, 22; 206 Rs. 10; 639, 4; 876, 14; 1116, 10). Es ist noch nicht klar, ob diese Form *immagur* als Analogiebildung nach dem G-Stamm (wie *inneppuš* zu *ippuš*, vgl. dazu Anm. 18) zu beurteilen ist oder ob wir anzunehmen haben, dass *immagur* hier als *immagor* gesprochen wurde (entsprechend den oben angeführten Formen *ugammor*, *inassor* usw.).

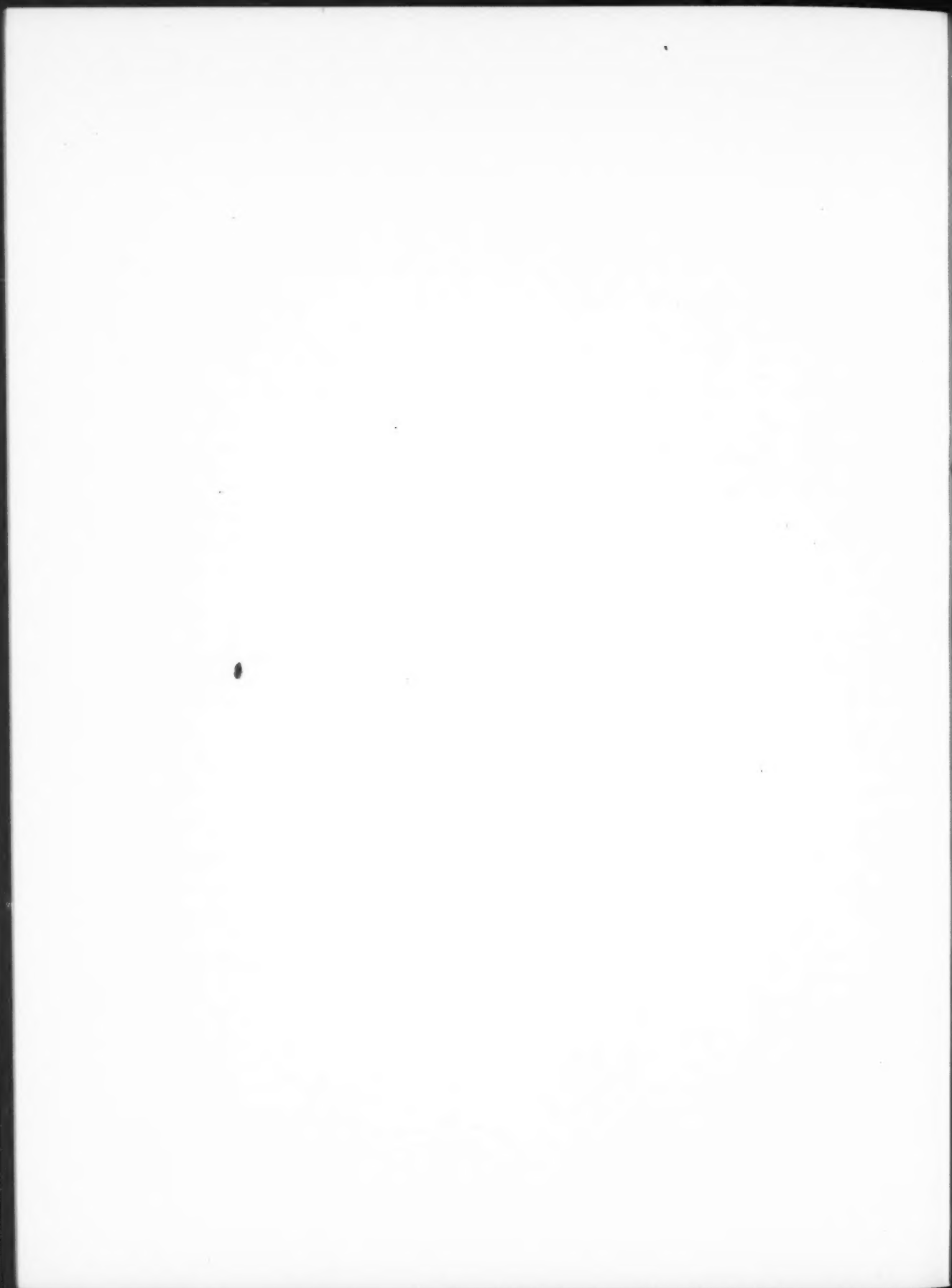
formen sind hier *at-ta-nu(-u)-ni* ebd. 484, 6 und 1428, 9 sowie die Verbalsuffixe *-ka-nu-ni*¹⁷ und *-šá-nu(-u)-ni* (Beispiele bei S. Ylvisaker a.a.O. S.18) zu nennen. Ob das in diesen positionell gelangten Vortonsilben geschriebene *a* nun ein *o* vertritt, oder ob in solchen Fällen *u* tatsächlich zu *a* wurde, wird sich kaum entscheiden lassen, da phonetisch das eine wie das andere vorstellbar ist.

Wir sind damit am Ende unserer Untersuchung angelangt. Es waren nicht nur die vor allem in altbabylonischen Texten nicht ganz seltenen gebrochenen Schreibungen, in denen wir den Versuch mancher Schreiber erkannten, Vokalfärbungen in der Schrift wiederzugeben, für die eigene Silbenzeichen nicht zur Verfügung standen. In die gleiche Richtung wies uns die Betrachtung anderer ungewöhnlicher Vokalschreibungen, die sich bisher noch nicht hatten verständlich machen lassen. Einzelne dieser Schreibungen mögen vielleicht auch eine andere Deutung zulassen; in ihrer Gesamtheit führen sie meines Erachtens notwendig auf die hier gegebene Erklärung. Als verbindlich oder auch nur orthographisch erwünscht hat die behelfsmässige Wiedergabe gesprochener Vokalfärbungen in den Schreiberschulen offenbar nie gegolten; sie findet sich deswegen in der eigentlichen Literatur, von einigen altbabylonischen Texten abgesehen, fast nie. Die Mehrzahl der Belege dafür ist Briefen entnommen. Wir wissen daher auch nicht, ob wir aus den zitierten Schreibungen auf ein gesprochenes *o* oder *ü* in allen dem Lautstand nach gleichartigen Formen schliessen dürfen, oder ob nur bestimmte Formen vielleicht auch nur in begrenzten Bezirken mit diesen Vokalen gesprochen wurden, die manchmal nur das Ergebnis einer vulgär laxen Aussprache sein mochten. Aber die Beantwortung von Fragen solcher Art ist für uns nicht so wesentlich; wichtiger ist, dass wir aus den hier behandelten Schreibungen keine falschen grammatischen Schlüsse ziehen wie etwa den, dass im Neuassyrischen die bedeutungsbestimmten Verbalklassen beim Verbum nicht mehr richtig unterschieden werden wären. Deswegen gewinnt die Frage nach den Vokalfärbungen ihren Sinn von der grammatischen Forschung her; das Klangbild der akkadischen Dialekte werden wir aus der nur schriftlichen Überlieferung doch immer nur höchst mangelhaft rekonstruieren können¹⁸.

17 In ABL 541 Rs. 6 ist das *-ni* nach *-ka-nu* wohl nur versehentlich ausgefallen.

18 Es ist möglich, dass zeitweilig gesprochene Zwischenvokale wie *o* und *ü* auch noch andere als die hier besprochenen Vokalveränderungen in der Schrift verursacht haben. So tritt im Babylonischen z.B. schon während der altbab. Zeit die Präsensform *ippuš* an die Stelle des älteren *ippeš* und entsprechend im N-Stamm die Formen *innepuš* und *inneppuš* an die Stelle von älterem *innepiš* und *inneppeš* (in dem altbab. Omentext CT V 4, 2f. steht *eppuš* neben *epeš*!). Vielleicht wurde altbab. *epeš* unter dem Einfluss des Labials als *eppöš* gesprochen und dieses zunächst nur gelegentlich als *ep-pu-uš* geschrieben. Diese Form hat sich in der Schrift dann durchgesetzt, weil das (aus *a* entstandene) *e* als zweiter Vokal im Präsens neben *u* im Präteritum keine Analogie bei anderen Verben mehr hatte, nachdem aus *izub/izzeb*

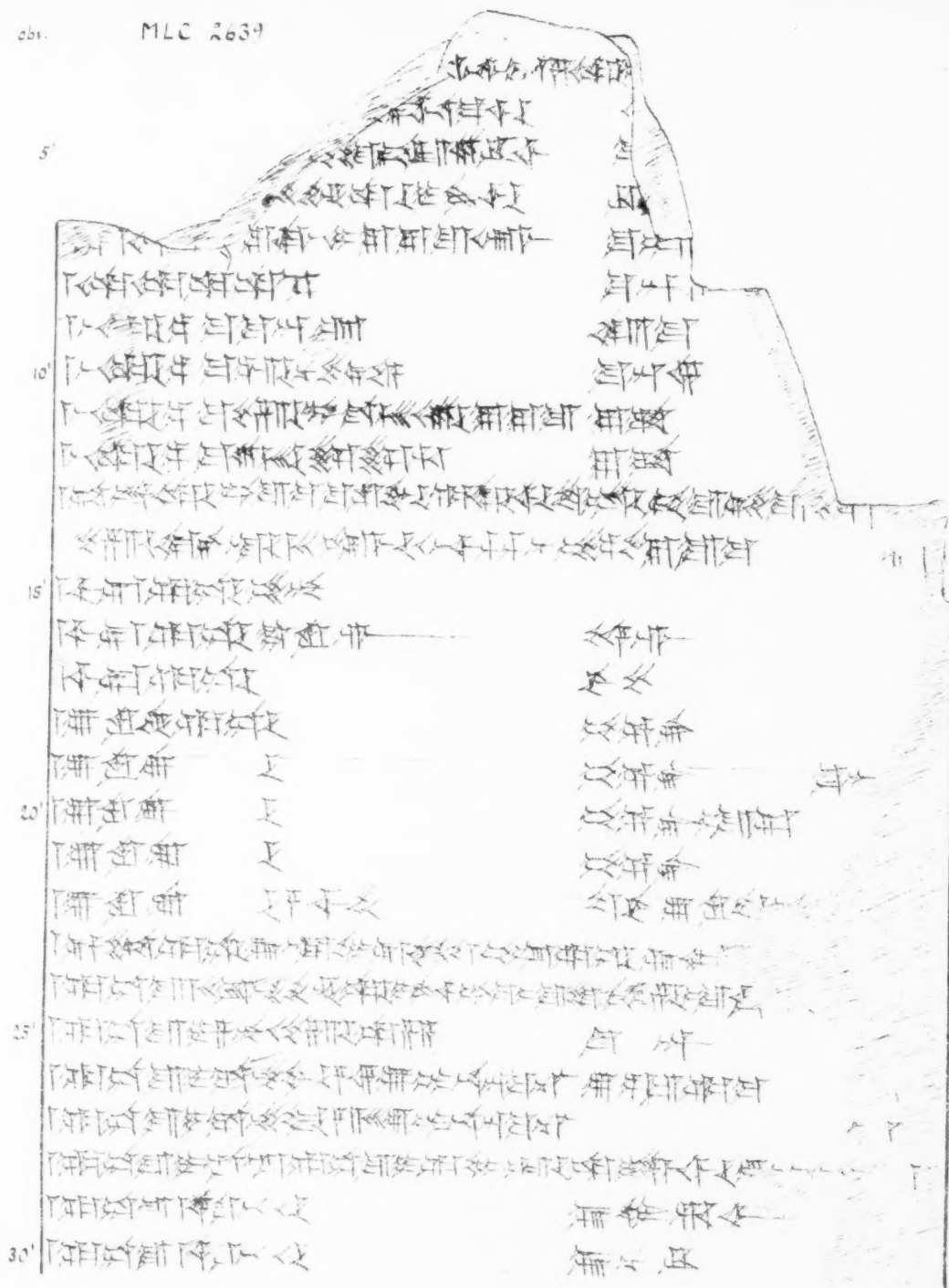
schon altbabylonisch *izib/izzib* geworden war (vgl. dazu oben S. 296). So ist es vielleicht zu erklären, dass das transitive *epēšum* im Babylonischen (nicht im Assyrischen!) in die sonst intransitive *u/u*-Klasse übergegangen ist. — Noch öfter zu belegen ist auch die ungleiche Vokalisierung von Substantiven zum Teil nicht-semitischer Herkunft; zu nennen wäre z.B. die Nebenform *sattakku* zu *sattukku* (vgl. dazu mein Syllabar S. 106) oder *ganūnu* neben (älterem?) *ganīnu* (vgl. dazu E. Weidner AOB I 156 Anm. 3). Ob aber der Vokalwechsel in allen diesen Fällen durch ein gesprochenes *o* oder *ū* ausgelöst wurde, bedarf noch der Prüfung auf breiterer Basis unter Heranziehung aller gleichartig gebildeten Wörter.



Texts and Fragments

(6) MLC 2639. 88 x 160 mm. 1st tablet of the series *ana marši ina teḫē-ka*.

obr. MLC 2639



[Cuneiform text lines 35-60]

35' [Cuneiform text line]

40' [Cuneiform text line]

45' [Cuneiform text line]

50' [Cuneiform text line]

55' [Cuneiform text line]

60' [Cuneiform text line]

end of l. 33' * [Cuneiform text]

end of l. 41: [Cuneiform text]

72v.

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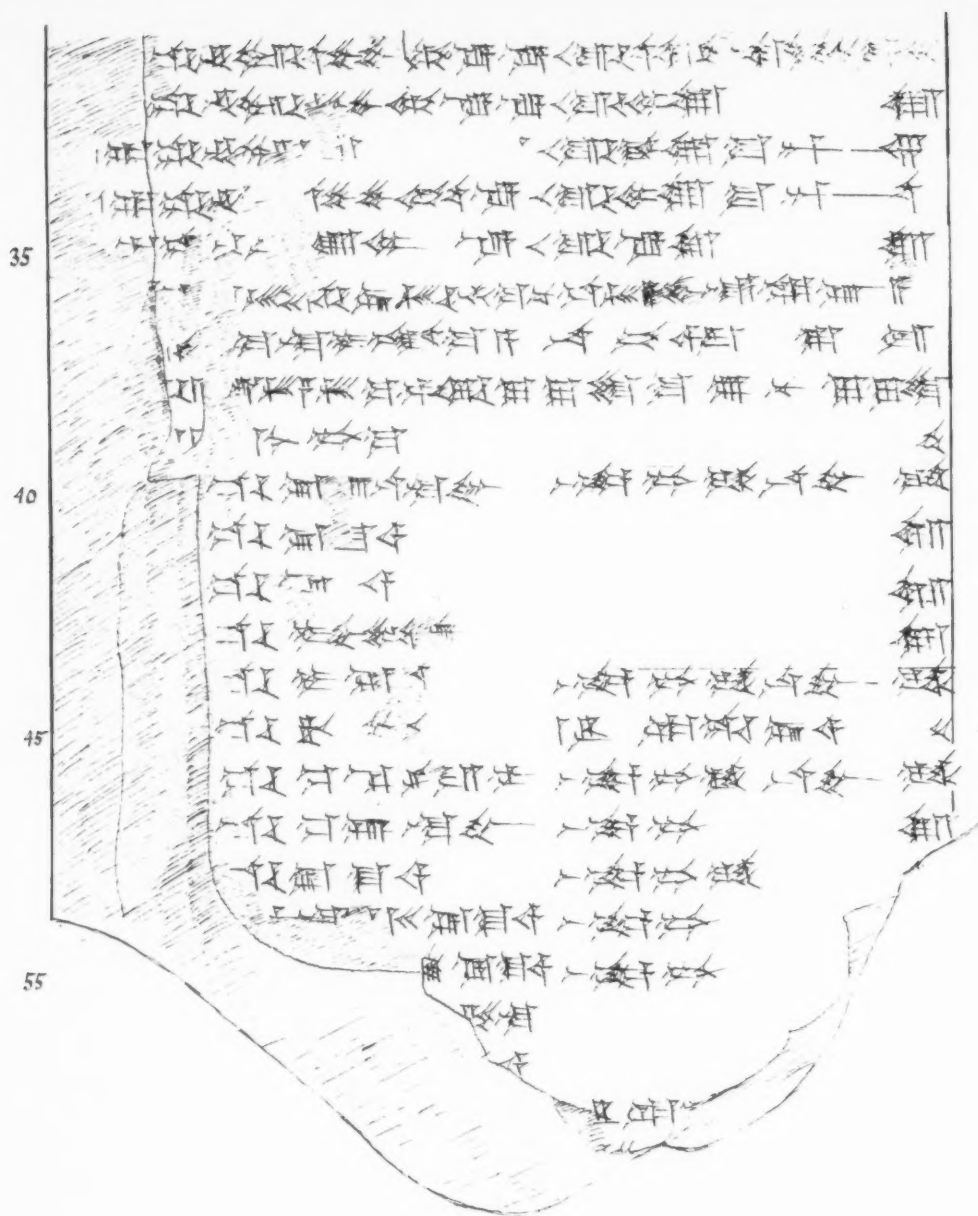
27

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Fragmented text in vertical columns, likely a list or index, with some lines crossed out or heavily scribbled over. The text is written in a cursive or shorthand style.



The tablet was copied (by A. Goetze) in order to make it available for R. Labat's treatment of the whole series which is planned for the immediate future. See for the time being RA 4C (1945/46) 27ff.

Critical Reviews

Roger T. C'Callaghan, S.J., *Aram Naharaim. A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium E.C.* (=Analecta Orientalia 26). Roma, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1948. XV+164pp., 38 plates and 3 maps.

It is apparently difficult to find a fitting title for a book dealing with the history of Upper Mesopotamia in the second Millennium B.C., the period in which the vital impulses of the political and cultural development of the ancient world originated in the north of Mesopotamia rather than in the south. I had to face the problem myself when writing the book which was finally published under the title "Hethiter, Churriter and Assyrer" (Oslo, 1936). "Aram Naharaim" could have been selected only by a scholar whose interests center around the Bible and for whom the history of Upper Mesopotamia in the second millennium provides the background for a better understanding of the Old Testament. However, the biblical term is vague; burdened down with a reference to the Arameans it is anachronistic when applied to a period in which Arameans play no part. Were it not for the subtitle, "Aram Naharaim" would remain a complete puzzle. When I first saw the book quoted, I did not think it would contain anything of interest to me.

Actually, the book outlines the history of Upper Mesopotamia from the 23rd to the 10th century B.C. After an introduction which states the purpose of the book, sketches the methods to be followed and enumerates the available sources¹ (pp. 1-4), the author draws the background from which his presentation starts out, dealing in particular with the "Early Amorites" (pp.5-21). He then turns to the "early second millennium" discussing in succession the Cappadocian tablets and Mari, Alalakh and Chagar Eazar, the Hittites and the Hurrians (pp. 22-50). The central chapter is devoted to the history and the civilization of the Mitanni kingdom (pp. 51-92); it lays particular stress on the "symbiosis"² of Hurrian and Indo-Aryan elements to which it owes its existence. The

1 Strangely enough the Hittite sources are not mentioned at all.

rest of the book treats the Aramean infiltration into the countries of the Fertile Crescent (pp. 93-118) and the conflicts between the Syrian Arameans and Israel (pp. 119-130). The concluding chapter (pp. 131-144) enumerates and discusses the occurrences of Naharaim in the sources and is in the nature of an appendix which is rather unorganically attached to the book. A generous amount of illustrations and three instructive maps conclude the well printed publication.

Father O'Callaghan had set himself the aim to provide us with a synthesis of our present knowledge of the historical and cultural development during the second millennium B.C. Thanks to the relentless activities of both archaeologists and philologists much new source material has become available during the last decade and a half. One need only mention Chagar Eazar and Alalakh and above all Ugarit and Mari. The subject had been suggested by W.F. Albright and, under his guidance, the author has well acquitted himself of his task. He has produced a well-informed and well-documented book, interestingly written, in which one finds summarized both what we know and what we do not know as yet. It will be widely read, particularly in this country where no up-to-date book on the subject is available.

Without detracting from the value of Father O'Callaghan's presentation one may well doubt the wisdom of putting to work on a subject so replete with difficulties a scholar who has not yet tried his hand on a problem of smaller scope. The source material consists of monuments from many countries and of documents composed in numerous languages. There is no-one in the world who could handle all of it with equal competence. The question, then, is how well the synthesizer escapes the dangers always immanent in the necessity of relying on secondary sources. Father O'Callaghan has fully and faithfully surveyed the literature that deals with the numerous problems of the period, particularly the English and French literature (less well the writings of German scholars).³ In its initial form the book was written in Baltimore and, as

² This expression seems to go back to the German 'Lebensgemeinschaft' which apparently was used by H. Schmökel, *Die ersten Arier im Alten Orient* (1938), a book which, owing to war conditions, is known to me only indirectly and which Father O'Callaghan does not quote either. The term 'symbiosis' recurs in Albright's recent book *The Archaeology of Palestine* (p. 184).

³ To quote only a few examples, the explanation of *maryannu* and its connection with *vedic marya* goes back to H. Winckler and F. C. Andreas (OLZ 1910 291ff.); the social implications of the introduction of the horse-drawn chariot (p. 66) was first described by Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums II 1* (2nd ed., 1928) 44f. For the Middle Assyrian vowel harmony B. Landsberger, OLZ 1924 723 should have been quoted. The earlier German literature on the Hurrians is disregarded.

the author states, "had the benefit of Professor Albright's wide erudition". In the circumstances it is unavoidable that to the initiated the influence of so spirited and forceful a teacher, of so active and original a scholar is visible on almost every page. In the reviewer's opinion, the author might sometimes have paid more attention to divergent views. No one scholar can possibly always be right. Scholarship is cumulative and co-operative. We all stand upon the shoulders of those who were before us, and they who come after us must consider our differences and learn from them. It is the function of healthy criticism to weigh the arguments, to separate facts and hypotheses, to do justice to new points of view and thereby to strive toward a just appraisal of the evidence. This has to be done without regard to the prestige and the reputation of individual scholars. The greatest scholar may err, and a man without a name may make essential contributions. The reader of Father O'Callaghan's book must understand that its author has not been sufficiently exposed to varying influences to strike the right balance.

The chronology with which Father O'Callaghan operates is the extremely short one of Albright (EASCK 88 28ff.). It is generally agreed today that the dates given for the kings of the Hammurapi dynasty before the Mari find were too high. But it still remains to be seen how much they must be lowered. It is uncritical and therefore risky to adopt the figures of the Khorsabad kinglist as the historical truth. They merely represent the version of the late Assyrian historiographers which differs even from older Assyrian tradition. For the establishment of a trustworthy chronology the synchronization of the Kassite dynasty with that of Amurru remains still the crucial issue. I cannot find that the arguments of Thureau-Dangin in his last contribution to Assyriology (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 43/2, 1942) have been invalidated by the new kinglist; they should not have been disregarded. It is also doubtful whether the known facts of Hittite history can be accommodated in the interval between Muršiliš, the conqueror of Halba and Babylon, and Šuppiluliumaš, the creator of the New Hittite Kingdom⁴, when that interval is cut down to barely 185 years.

The Amurrites of the "early 18th century" are described with Albright (*From Stone to Christianity* 121⁵) as barbarous beduins. The Sumerian passage on which the estimate

4 I do not understand for what reasons, in the table on p. 81, Šuppiluliumaš is given the years from ca. 1375-1335. I thought that the end of his reign is tied to the death of the pharaoh Piphururiyaš. The author's date places it 29 years after the death of Eye (1354). Who then is Piphururiyaš in Father O'Callaghan's opinion? If I interpret fn. 1 on p. 91 correctly, it is Amenophis IV. Here some blunder has been committed. Incidentally, see now also KUB XXXIV 24 to which Güterbock has fitted some unpublished fragments and cf. Edel, *JNES* 7 14f.

5 Cf. furthermore G. E. Wright, *BASOR* 71 34.

depends is much older. For the Amurrites of the 18th century it proves exactly as much as the descriptions we have of the Vikings for the life, customs and character of present-day Scandinavians.

For judging the Canaanites Albright's article on "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization" published in *Studies in the History of Culture* (Leland Volume, 1949) serves as a basis. In this brief review I cannot discuss Albright's pertinent views; suffice it to say here that I thoroughly disapprove of the Pan-Canaanism expounded there. It seems to me that it results in a serious distortion of historical reality. Our literature on Palestine is extremely vague about the Canaanites in Canaan itself. Usually the statement is made that they had been there "since times immemorial". This is altogether unsatisfactory and, I think, unworthy of the highly developed status of Palestinian archaeology. One may justly expect from Palestinologists a more precise answer to the question as to the time when the Canaanites entered the country. As far as I can make out, the question has not even been asked in earnest.

The Tell Halaf sculptures (p. 114ff.) are dated with the "Aramean" Kapara to the 10th century⁶. It is well known that I have always opposed the high dates which Herzfeld, Ungnad and Earon von Oppenheim advocated; I think however there is good evidence for the opinion that Kapara re-used slabs he already found⁷. Moreover, is Kapara really an Aramean? I suspect this view has influenced the dating. The name of his father Hadianu does not support the view any longer since a namesake emerged in Ugarit (KA 37, 194C, text XXX line 7).

Quite naturally Father O'Callaghan derives his knowledge of Hurrian from Speiser's Introduction and the name book by Gelb, Furves and Mackae. Both are excellent guides into a territory where one can only too easily get lost. The customary name form Duppi-Teššub has apparently^{to} be changed to Umbi-Tešub (p. 54) on the authority of the name book—whether correctly remains to be seen. On the other hand Kimi-sharma (p. 84) should definitely be replaced by Talmi-sharma.

The list of Indo-Aryan names presented on p. 56ff. is repeated in a special appendix (pp. 149-155) under the signature of F.-E. Duncnt⁸. Since Hommel (*SB der Böhmisches Akademie, phil. Klasse* 1898), Bloomfield (*AJPh* 25, 1906, 8ff.) and Ed. Meyer (*KZ* 42, 1908 17ff.) nobody doubts the presence of Indo-Aryans among the Mitannians. However, whether

6 Albright, *Haverford Symposium* (1938) 27 dated them to the 12th/11th centuries agreeing with Meissner's date for Kapara. Since then he has come down a century (see *BASOR* 87 p. 26 fn. 7).

7 Cf. *ZA NF* 7 246ff.

8 In this appendix the sound by sound 'transliteration' remains a mystery to cuneiformists.

all the names in the lists are really Indo-Aryan remains doubtful, and the problem of their interpretation will never be solved to everybody's satisfaction. Firstly, it requires an intimate knowledge of Hurrian to select those names which are not Hurrian; secondly not everything non-Hurrian is necessarily Aryan. Aware of the spottiness of our knowledge, I am not sanguine enough to accept the claim of Fancourt and Albright⁹ that the Hurri kings *Ú-wa-an-ti*, *Ú-ru-ti-it-ti*, *Ú-wa-ga-as-ua-ni-ia* (and *Ar-ka-x.*?) of the text KEc III 6C = 2BoTU 21 III 14f. are Indo-Aryans.

The term "Nesi or Nasi" for the language which we use to call "Hittite" must not be justified by a reference to my writings. Hittitologists will shudder when reading the monstrous term which only an outsider, entirely unfamiliar with Hittite, can have invented. True enough, when speaking of their own language, the Hittites say that they are talking "in the fashion of (the city) Neša" (*našili*) or "in the fashion of a Nešian" (*nešumnil*). These adverbs are derived from *Neša*, the name of the city, and from *nešumna* "Nešian". No **neši* or **naši* can ever have existed. The sooner the barbarous formation¹⁰ disappears from scientific terminology the better¹¹.

Father O'Callaghan discovers (p. 55 fn. 1) in Albright's review of my book Kizzuwatna (AJA 46, 1942, 444ff.) "strong arguments" to show that that country is to be located in Cataonia, to the north and the west of the Taurus mountains. Albright's opinion is based on the assertion that the Akkadian phrase *ištu tām̄ti*, and also the underlying Hittite *arunaz*, literally "from the sea", actually mean "from the south". I had not thought it possible that anyone would take such a totally unfounded assumption seriously. I may add here that the investigation of the cults of Kizzuwatna, as it has become possible by material not at my disposal ten years ago, makes it abundantly clear to everybody willing to see that Kizzuwatna borders indeed on northern Syria (see C. G. von Brandenstein, Cr. NS. 8 76 fn. 3; E. Laroche, JCS 2 114 fn. 5). The support which Albright lends to Ferrer's localization of Arzawa in Cilicia is completely unwarranted¹².

9 BASOR 78 30 where Güterbock's treatment of the text is duly quoted; it is important for the date and the general appraisal of the fragment.

10 Also Albright, BASOR 114 14.

11 It may be remarked in passing that the treaty between Tudhaliyaš and Ištaruwa of Amuru(sic!) from which H. Winckler quoted as far back as 1913, in spite of the remark on p. 99 fn. 4, has been published in full since 1929; see KUB XXIII 1. There exists even a transliteration and translation by O. Szemerényi in Acta Soc. Hung. Orientalis 9 (1945) 113-129.

12 My opinion with regard to the royal couples Tudhaliyaš — Nikkalmati and Arnuwandaš — Ašmunikkal changed between 1929 (Reallexikon der Assyriologie I/2) and 1940 (Kizzuwatna), a fact of which the author is not aware (see pp. 55 and 148). The reasons for the change can be found in Kizzuwatna pp. 76ff.

Seen as a whole, I think Father O'Callaghan's book overrates the significance of what is called the "Hammurapi Age" and at the same time underestimates the importance of the "Amurrite civilization". The latest discoveries in Iraq show that after the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur the Sumero-Akkadian area of southern Mesopotamia was just as much subdivided and broken up as Upper Mesopotamia and Syria. The unification which rulers like Rim-Sin and Hammurapi attempted was only partial and ephemeral. The latter king succeeded in subjugating Mari as well as Eshnunna, but he was unable (as the kings of Ur were before his time) to reach the Mediterranean. This is due not to the Hittites, as the author surmises (pp. 34, 49), but to the existence of other Amurrite principalities in Syria. The existence of small Amurrite states, grouped in ever shifting coalitions, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and from the Taurus ranges into the Orontes valley and (as the Execration Texts show) into Palestine is the dominating characteristic of the period. Every new Mari text that is published confirms this evaluation of the historical situation.

With only a small fraction of this new material accessible, with the tablets excavated at Tell Asmar, Khafaji and Harmal altogether unpublished, right now is not a favorable time for a new synthesis. No one would wish to do without the present one, but quite likely the next one will look rather different.

Yale University

Albrecht Goetze

Books Received

- I. Mendelschn. *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford University Press. New York, 1949.
- E. J. Siegel. *Slavery During the Third Dynasty of Ur*. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 66). American Anthropological Association, 1947.
- F. R. Steele. *The Code of Lipit-Ishtar*. (Museum Monographs). The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, [1949].
- W. von Soden. *Das akkadische Syllabar*. (Analecta Orientalia 27). Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Roma, 1948.
- P. Falkenstein. *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*. Teil I: Schrift- und Formenlehre. (Analecta Orientalia 28). Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Roma, 1949.
- A. Moortgat. *Tammuz. Der Unsterblichkeitsglaube in der Altorientalischen Bildkunst*. Walter de Gruyter & Co. Berlin, 1949.
- L. Legrain. *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur*. (Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. *Ur Excavations, Texts III*). Plates, 1937. Indexes, Vocabulary, Catalogue, Lists, 1947.
- H. H. Figulla. *Business Documents of the New Babylonian Period*. (Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. *Ur Excavations, Texts IV*). 1949.
- A. I. Ferkins. *The Comparative Archeology of Early Mesopotamia*. (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 25*). The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1949.
- A. M. Hershman. *The Code of Maimonides. Book Fourteen. The Book of Judges*. (Yale Judaica Series III). Yale University Press. New Haven, 1949.
- C. D. Matthews. *Palestine-Mohammedan Holy Land*. (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, XXIV). Yale University Press. New Haven, 1949.
- The Excavations at Lura-Europos. Final Report IV:*
 Part I. Fascicle 2: D. H. Cox. *The Greek and Roman Pottery*.
 Part IV. Fascicle 1: T. G. Frisch and N. F. Toll. *The Bronze Objects*.
 Yale University Press. New Haven, 1949.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VI:

A. R. Bellinger. The Coins.

Yale University Press. New Haven, 1949.

Announcements

The American Schools are in a position to offer to libraries and to individual scholars a limited number of sets of the late Professor George A. Barton's publication Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets,

Documents from the Temple Archives of Tellch (second edition, New Haven, 1918). The sets were originally priced at \$14.00; the Schools are able to ^{sell the} remainder ^{of} the edition at the price of \$3.50 per set of three volumes, plus \$0.60 postage. All orders should be directed to the business office of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Drawer 95A Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

The next number of the JCS to be issued will be Volume IV (1950) Number 1.

Volume III (1949) will be published as a whole early in 1950. It will contain a book by F. H. Kraus of the Museum of the Ancient East entitled "Nippur und Isin nach altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden" and will appear as a joint publication of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul and the American Schools of Oriental Research.

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The subscription price is \$6.00 per year, the price of the single number \$1.75. All remittances for subscriptions should be made payable to the American Schools of Oriental Research and sent to the above address.

Communications to the editors, manuscripts, and books for review should be addressed to Professor Albrecht Goetze, 306 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven 11, Connecticut, U.S.A. The editors would greatly appreciate it if manuscripts were submitted in typewritten form.

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